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# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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# Daily Report
## Central Eurasia

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NOTICE: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

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## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 17 Mar

*LD1703073195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0641 GMT 17 Mar 95*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Two topics, the situation in Azerbaijan and that in the Chechen republic, dominate today's Moscow-based newspapers.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA writes that "confrontation between the leadership of Azerbaijan and the rebels led by Rovshan Dzhavadov has reached its peak and may erupt into combat actions at any moment". This conclusion is being drawn by analysts in an estimate of the current situation in Baku, the newspaper points out.

PRAVDA believes that the current situation in Azerbaijan resembles last year's one: On the night from March 12 to 13 special-purpose police units in Kazakh and Akstafa districts attacked local administration institutions and police stations.

This time the action was also prompted by the detention of several policemen on suspicion of smuggling a large batch of copper. In Kazakh and Akstafa, the authorities managed to restore order, not without victims though, whereas in the capital special-purpose police do not agree to any negotiations and steer a course towards a coup d'etat.

TRUD carries an interview with State Duma Member Stanislav Govorukhin, who, touching upon the situation in Chechnya, emphasised: "The most important thing now is to stop the war. If the government is unable to do that, the State Duma, putting aside all other business, should set about settling political and economic problems in the Chechen republic peacefully by introducing, if necessary, amendments to the Constitution for this purpose, the amendments which would provide the State Duma with appropriate powers".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an interview with another State Duma member, Boris Fyodorov, who said in comment on the situation in Chechnya that "any change of borders would lead of a chain reaction. We have already observed this everywhere. Therefore, in the interests of the majority, if you will, we must uphold the territorial integrity and unity of the state".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) interviewed Major General Vyacheslav Sviridov, the commandant of Groznyy, who said as follows: "The situation in Groznyy as of now is controllable, albeit a complex one. Therefore one would like to believe that life in the city will gradually stabilise. If all Russian ministries and departments involved in the rehabilitation of Groznyy do their bit in good time, the city will again come to live a normal life soon".

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI writes that, according to the General Prosecutor's Office of Russia, more than 200,000 crimes were committed in 1994 by minors.

In another item, referring to the data of the ministry of labour, the newspaper emphasises that mortality rate among men of productive age in Russia is five times as high as that among women.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA interviewed Professor Dmitriy Olshanskiy, director of the Centre for Strategic Analysis and Forecasting, who stated: "It is, of course, impossible to reanimate the Soviet Union. It can be only a question of creating a new union. But I do not see so far any serious attempts in this respect."

The newspaper quotes Olshanskiy as saying that "in the run-up to presidential elections, Boris Yeltsin, aware that people's nostalgia for the Soviet Union is strong enough, lately began to play an integrationist card efficiently enough.... This is an obvious election-campaign playing on the sentiments of future voters."

TRUD, referring to the data of the Moscow pediatry and child surgery research institute, writes that 40 per cent of teenagers suffer from chronic ailments by the time they finish school. Over the period of studies at school, the number of healthy children decreases by a factor of four, 30-50 per cent of children at the age of six are unprepared for school education. The number of oncological patients per 100,000 children was 11 in 1993 as against 4 in the 1960s.

## Heads of Security Bodies Agree on Cooperation

*LD1603002395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1732 GMT 15 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 15 March—For the first time since the collapse of the Soviet Union a sitting of the heads of the security bodies of the twelve CIS states took place today at one of the facilities of the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service in the town of Odintsovo in the environs of Moscow. In the final document adopted by its participants fundamental agreement and the willingness of the security bodies to cooperate in the struggle against organized crime is registered.

Sergey Stepashin, the director of the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service, stated at a press conference that an accord had been reached on today's conference becoming a permanent event that will meet regularly.

According to the mutual accord, the director of the Russian Federal Counter-Intelligence Service was charged with fulfilling the obligations of the conference. A secretariat, which it was decided should be located in Moscow on the basis of the Federal Counter-Intelligence Service will be the permanent body of the conference.

At the press conference it was reported that it is planned to hold a routine meeting of the heads of CIS states' security bodies at the end of May this year in Tbilisi. It is expected that a treaty on cooperation among the security services in different directions will be signed and the principles and mechanisms of their cooperation will be worked out.

Assessing the accords reached, Sergey Stepashin stressed that "there is nothing in world practice like the signing of the multilateral documents on cooperation among the security bodies of a number of countries, and this experiment is unique." The chairman of the State Security Committee of Belarus, Vladimir Yegorov, stated that during today's conference "surprisingly enough opinions were unanimous on all the issues discussed."

## Kiev Signs Economic Committee Documents With Reservations

*AU1503170095 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Our Position Is Unshakable"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Ukrainian delegation headed by Serhiy Osyka, vice premier and minister of external economic ties, took part in the session of the CIS Interstate Economic Committee. The session discussed draft agreements on the creation of the Interstate Monetary Committee, transportation of special cargo and military products, issues of temporary structure, list of members, and planned expenditure of the Interstate Economic Committee, as well as conditions for its stationing in the Russian Federation.

In signing the documents, Ukraine stated that it intends to fulfill only those of the Interstate Economic Committee's decisions that are in conformity with Ukrainian legislation.

## UN Calls For Program To Combat C. Asian Drug Trafficking

*LD1703111495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0947 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Dushanbe March 17 TASS—The United Nations regional director for combatting drug trafficking in Central Asia Andreusz Madzek, currently paying a three-day visit to the Tajik capital, told a briefing here on Thursday [16 March] that he did not rule out the possibility of this region, incuding Tajikistan, being turned into an eastern version of Colombia if no comprehensive joint programme was drawn up shorty to resolve this global problem.

He said that the United Nations was very much concerned about this problem, because the flow of narcotics from this region to Russia and further to Europe had sharply increased of late. He pointed out in this connection that according to information on hand enough pure heroin was stockpiled in Afghan regions adjoining several Central Asian republics to meet the demands of more than five Europes. Some of this deadly substance is smuggled from Afghanistan into Tajikistan, the eastern highland areas of which serve as a transshipment point to smuggle narcotics into Kyrgyzstan. The United Nations is also concerned about the expanding plantations of raw materials used to produce narcotics in Tajikistan, especially in the northern Penepen District, bordering on Uzbekistan. Drugs from there are exported to the neighbouring republics. Madzek did not venture to say that an organised narcomafia had already appeared in Tajikistan, but he believes there are symptoms that it is in the making. Tajik Justice Minister Shavkat Ismoilov, who attended the briefing, noted that the number of crimes, linked with the sale of narcotics, had increased 46 times over in Tajikistan during the past five years. He said that only one crime, linked with drug trafficking, had been disclosed out of every ten.

In Madzek's opinion, these problems could be resolved only by pooling the efforts of all the Central Asian republics, by drawing up special programmes and bringing the legislations of these countries into line with the international standards. Such measures have already been drawn up with U.N. technical assistance for Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. "As much as 500 million U.S. dollars were allocated for each of these countries, and we are ready to render similar assistance to Tajikistan," Madzek stated. He noted that the United Nations, given the Tajik Government's consent, would send to the republic a team of experts within the next month to draw up corresponding documents.

Madzek drew the attention of journalists to the need of resolving the problem of setting up a state commission, which would pool the efforts of all the national services engaged in combatting drug trafficking.

### Yeltsin: Date for Clinton's Arrival 'Not Yet Quite Clear'

*LD1603163495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 16 (Interfax)—The date for the arrival of U.S. President Bill Clinton in Moscow "is not yet quite clear", said Russian President Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin at Thursday's meeting with editors-in-chief of newspapers of the G-7 countries and Egypt.

According to Yeltsin, he spoke with the U.S. President and is waiting for his arrival in Russia.

One of the participants at the meeting told Interfax that Yeltsin noted that Clinton was not in principle against coming to Russia to attend festivities on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Victory over Fascist Germany. Yeltsin said that the U.S. President "is embarrassed by the festivities' scenario". For example, the U.S. President does not want to take part in functions "against the background of the Russian Army's military parade". At the same time, as Moscow understood it, Clinton is not against taking part in social functions.

Answering questions concerning the return of German cultural treasures, ending up in Russia during World War II, Yeltsin said, "this problems should be tackled on a parity basis".

"The return of cultural treasures is a bilateral process," he said. Not only Russia, but also Germany took away from Russia or destroyed cultural treasures on its occupied territories." The Russian president said that it would be better to wait for the conclusion arrived at by the bilateral commission on this issue.

### Yeltsin Speaks Against 'Common Border' With NATO

*LD1603220395 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 2123 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Berlin/Moscow (DDP/ADN)—Reforms in Russia are making good progress, according to President Boris Yeltsin. The situation is not as dire as portrayed by the mass media over the past few months, Yeltsin said in an interview with DIE WELT newspaper (Friday edition) in Moscow's Kremlin. Yeltsin granted seven leading newspapers, including DIE WELT as the only German paper, an interview.

Concerning his relations with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Yeltsin said that "of all the statesmen in the world, I am in closest and most frequent telephone contact with Helmut Kohl." There was not a single week that they did not talk to each on the telephone. This was extremely helpful in comparing documents and overcoming misunderstandings. "We are real friends," Yeltsin said.

On the issue of the return of the art treasures seized during World War II, Yeltsin said that he and Kohl had set up a special commission to look into the matter. Russia is not against such an investigation.

Referring to NATO, Yeltsin said that Russia is against the early and considerably accelerated expansion of the alliance. If some of the countries in the center of Europe are keen to join NATO, this would mean a common border for NATO and Russia. The citizens would gain the immediate impression that Russia is once again living in a kind of bloc system vis-a-vis the alliance. This would not be consistent with the overall security of Europe.

### Strategic Rocket Forces Withdrawing From Belarus

*LD1603143795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0943 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Yurkin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 16 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—The main headquarters of the Strategic Rocket Forces is withdrawing its units from Belarus in accordance with international accords on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told today at the Strategic Rocket Forces press center that the redeployment of weapons and equipment is taking place in a planned manner, and that the work schedule was agreed at government level.

### Black Sea Fleet Chief Critizies Russian Policy

*MK1103133395 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1,2*

[Interview with Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, commander of the Black Sea Fleet, by Tatyana Romanenkova, in Sevastopol, date not given, under the "Problem" rubric: "Eduard Baltin: "Ukraine Does Not Fulfill Its Obligations." The Black Sea Fleet Commander Believes That the Black Sea Fleet Is Dying"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Oleg Soskovets, the first vice premier of the Russian Federation, held a working meeting of the Government on preparation for the official visit of the Russian president to Ukraine. Over 20 interstate documents are ready for signing at the forthcoming Russian-Ukrainian summit planned for late March in Kiev.

In the opinion of Russian First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets, who is responsible for preparation of the Russian president's visit to Kiev, disagreement on the problems of dividing the Black Sea Fleet and restructuring the Ukrainian debt still persists. During Soskovets' recent working visit to Kiev, Ukrainian First Vice Premier Yevhen Marchuk agreed on the Russian Black Sea Fleet having Sevastopol as its base. In addition, Ukraine gave its consent to the use of several other military facilities by Russia on a contractual basis. On the eve of the visit, Vice Admiral Eduard Baltin, the

Black Sea Fleet commander, expressed his opinion on the Black Sea Fleet problem.

[Romanenkova] Eduard Dmitriyevich, does the Black Sea Fleet still continue to be an apple of discord between Russia and Ukraine?

[Baltin] Quite the contrary, the Black Sea Fleet is the thread linking the Russian and Ukrainian nations rather than an apple of discord. Politicians benefit from this fact when necessary. And some people do profit from today's situation. In Russia, they regard us as half-Ukrainian, whereas Ukraine treats us as half or entirely Russian. These political discussions are of a demagogic character, and they have continued for three years now. Thus, a record of useless meetings has been achieved. In this way, however, just for an outward show, the appearance of rapprochement between Russia and Ukraine alternates from time to time with the appearance of conflict.

[Romanenkova] How do you assess the latest negotiations?

[Baltin] Nothing happened at the latest negotiations. The declaration that was adopted is of a declarative nature, indeed—mere words that are not binding on anyone today. Some Ukrainian circles, however, were very enthusiastic about the head of the Russian delegation. "With great difficulty, we have succeeded at last in having Oleg Soskovets appointed as the head of the Russian delegation"—this is precisely what was said. They officially state that this is a victory for Ukrainian diplomacy.

[Romanenkova] And how can you explain the appointment of Soskovets as the head of the delegation? Why has Russia made concessions to Ukraine?

[Baltin] Some time ago, one of the Russian leaders said that without Ukraine there will be no CIS. Since then Ukraine started to resemble a naughty child who is allowed to do anything and is pardoned for everything. It started to build its policy on that basis.

Judging by the debts that Ukraine has, it lives now already at the expense of the Russian peasant [muzhik] who works hard in regions beyond the polar circle or in Tyumen but does not receive money for his work there—instead, his money goes to Ukraine. First of all, it is fed by our fuel and energy complex.

Similar "naughtiness" is shown by Ukraine in its foreign policy. First, it threatens that it will immediately join NATO and takes some practical steps in that direction; then, it intends to join various European unions; then, again, it declares that it will remain a nuclear power. Russia is paying money to Ukraine so that it will rid its territory of nuclear weapons. From the viewpoint of an expert, this is stupid.

I have been dealing with nuclear weapons for 27 years now, and I know that, if we had given up this issue as a bad job, five years later Ukraine itself would have paid money to have the nuclear weapons removed from its territory. It would have been in a desperate situation. The problem is that the life time of the warheads will expire soon, and Ukraine does not and will not have—not only by 2000 but also by the middle of the next century—the technological means and facilities to reprocess these warheads into something else, e.g. heat-emitting elements for nuclear power stations.

During negotiations, Ukraine each time lays down new conditions, although it is fully aware of the fact that it will never be able to digest what it asks for. The Ukrainian delegation was headed by Yevhen Marchuk, the first vice premier of the government. Unlike Soskovets, Marchuk knows very well all the problems of both the fleet and Ukraine, including the economic aspects. He is a good analyst who never solves problems in a superficial way, and he would never do anything that is unprofitable for his country. Soskovets, on the other hand, did not know the subject of the talks at all, and he probably followed entirely those recommendations that had been prepared for him by Moscow experts. It is difficult to hold negotiations in such a situation. I do not understand why Ambassador Dubinin was put deep behind Soskovets' back—he is the person who was here many times and knows the situation in the Crimea well.

[Romanenkova] How have previous agreements been respected, specifically the Yalta agreement on financing the fleet on a parity basis?

[Baltin] Ukraine could not hold out long: It lacked economic potential. Three military districts, three air armies, a border district, and 64 special-purpose units are on its territory. Ukraine seized at once 43 percent of the infrastructure and support facilities of the fleet, including the unique—the only one in the Soviet Union—center for training naval pilots in Nikolayev (a very expensive and technically highly sophisticated facility) and the unique center for training flight deck pilots. All these facilities are out of operation now; nothing is flying, but they are considered to be Ukrainian property.

Those, who have been trying hard to get hold of these things, are unaware themselves of the fact that, in this way, they undermine the Ukrainian economy. For instance, there are about 120,000 officers in Ukraine who need housing, pensions, and social security. For such a country and such a territory, this is an insoluble problem.

Why has Ukraine behaved this way? In my opinion, the main mistake was that the economic potential of Ukraine was assessed incorrectly. In the Soviet Union, it used to be called a "bread- basket," a rich industrial republic. And that image played a fatal trick. It has turned out that there are virtually no sources of raw materials on its territory, whereas numerous enterprises of the military-industrial complex and the ship-building facilities are mere assembly factories using only imported materials.

Now Ukraine is trying hard to correct the consequences of its nationalistic euphoria.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Ukraine has observed the Yalta agreement on joint financing of the fleet for only a year and a half over the past three years.

[Romanenkova] How, then, is the fleet financed now?

[Baltin] Everything is financed by Russia. But it is barely enough. Today, we spend 211 million rubles daily on food alone. So, you can imagine how much all of the rest costs.

The agreement reached in Yalta on forming crews on a parity basis also does not hold water. It means that half of the crew is to be from the Russian side, with the Russian oath, while the other half is from the Ukrainian side, with the Ukrainian oath. But there is only one commander! And since Russia and Ukraine at present have no common foreign policy course, there are differences of opinion on the use of ships. Take the Georgia-Abkhazia conflict as an example: We went there with peacekeeping intentions, but Ukraine was against it. Tell me, who needs such a grouping? Who needs such bilateral agreements?

[Romanenkova] But Ukraine is a member of the CIS, the Black Sea Fleet now fulfills the strategic task of protecting CIS borders....

[Baltin] Ukraine only considers itself to be a CIS member, but it always acts as an observer having signed no document. Today, in the opinion of the USA leadership, Ukraine is the main counterbalance to the strengthening of Russia. It was assigned that role, and it strictly follows it.

[Romanenkova] How do you explain such an indifferent Russian attitude, to put it mildly, toward the Black Sea Fleet? Perhaps, we have not realized yet what our own strategic interests are?

[Baltin] It depends on what you mean by "Russia." Those who are now in power show their disregard not to the Black Sea Fleet but to the history of Russia in general, and they often pass off their personal judgment as public opinion. The problem is not the Black Sea Fleet—it is the history of Russia. A society, which does not respect its history, disintegrates. The present Russian society will also disintegrate.

A new class—the class of proprietors—has been formed. This class has not inherited traditions of statehood. It is merely an accumulator of capital. Its "service" to the country is but a squandering of the national wealth.

Today, there is a latent civil war on the entire territory of the former Soviet Union. People protest against capitalization of the country. This resistance is termed the criminalization of society. Nothing of the kind— criminal groups account for no more than 15 percent of these opposing structures. Why doesn't anyone want to see that this militant confrontation is simply the protest of common Russian people?

[Romanenkova] What, in your opinion, is the solution to the problem of the Black Sea Fleet? Could it possibly be linked to a change in the political situation in Russia?

[Baltin] We have latent civil war, very deep economic crisis, incipient mass unemployment, and strike movements. This is an ideal situation for a dictator coming to power. Some individual will appear, speak high-sounding phrases and take power without any difficulty. Then, there will be no dictatorship of the law, as some journalists say now, but, instead, dictatorship of an individual. In the present situation, one cannot see any other way out.

Under such economic conditions as we have now, Russia may well lose its fleet altogether by the time of the 300-year anniversary of the Russian Navy. The fleet is not simply being downsized—it is dying. A fleet has always been an expensive thing for a state. It requires up-to-date technologies. Everybody should contribute to the building of a fleet—from the peasant to the worker in the electronics industry. But if the economy of a country is in a profound crisis....

[Romanenkova] Gloomy prospects.... But still, is there any hope for a better time for the Black Sea Fleet?

[Baltin] We shall hold on unless they sell us out. Even in the almost complete absence of financing, like now, we manage to maintain ships, staff, and infrastructure. There are people like Colonel General Churanov, the head of rear services at the Russian Defense Ministry—he simply likes us and acts without any instructions from above. Otherwise, in the course of the past three years, we have received virtually no supplies. Despite this, last year we repaired 80 ships, having raised extrabudgetary funds.

I wish to repeat: Despite all difficulties, the fleet has fulfilled and will continue to fulfill its duty of protecting state borders. But if the state sets such tasks for us, it must provide us with the means to warrant their realization. When our political leaders understand this, there will be hope for a better time.

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## Yeltsin, Ter-Petrosyan Agree on Russian Base in Armenia

*LD1603181295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1727 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 16 (Interfax)—Presidents of Russia and Armenia Boris Yeltsin and Levon Ter-Petrosyan met in Moscow Thursday to sign an agreement on the deployment of a Russian army base in Armenia.

Speaking afterwards, Yeltsin described the deal as a significant event and a vital step on the way to consolidating allied relations between the two countries. And he added that the agreement was an indication of the high degree of confidence in each other.

The deal provides for the deployment of a Russian army base in the northern town of Gyumri and a Russian command group and motorized region in Yerevan. The 25-year deal can automatically be extended unless one of the sides objects.

Bilateral relations, the CIS, Transcaucasia and the prospects of Karabakh peace were also on the agenda, our correspondent reports.

The two presidents agreed that an early solution to the regional conflict would give a renewed impetus to wider relations between Russia and Armenia.

### Joint Air Defense Post Planned

*LD1603194795 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in English 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [passage omitted: Armenia, Russia sign military base treaty] The agreement is intended for 25 years. In the opinion of many experts, the Russian base deployed in the northwest of Armenia will be reinforced by air forces. A joint air defense command post, the first in the Commonwealth of Independent States, will also be set up on its territory.

### Yeltsin Praises Treaty

*LD1603210395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2044 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 16—Russian President Boris Yeltsin called today's meeting with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan of Armenia in the Kremlin an event of "special importance".

After the talks the two presidents signed a treaty on the legal status of the Russian military base located on the territory of Armenia in the city of Gyumri (former Leninakan).

Appraising the importance of this agreement, Boris Yeltsin called it an "act of strengthening of our allied relations, an act of confidence and the continuation of the Russo-Armenian treaty "on the status of the Russian Armed Forces on the territory of Armenia" concluded in August 1992".

The 127th motorized rifle division will be stationed at the Russian military base in Gyumri in the north-west of Armenia.

The Russo-Armenian treaty signed on Thursday, became the first inter-state document regulating long-term stationing of the Russian armed forces abroad.

Participating in the Russo-Armenian talks were also the foreign ministers and defense ministers of the two countries.

### Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Discuss Kazakh Political Situation

*LD1703114295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 ITAR-TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan today discussed the situation in Almaty and the republic as a whole in a telephone conversation, the press service of the president of the Russian Federation reported.

Boris Yeltsin expressed understanding and the hope that the president of Kazakhstan, the state structures and the country's public and political forces would succeed in preserving political stability.

President Yeltsin also expressed the hope that the next parliamentary elections in Kazakhstan would be held in the interests of the republic's multinational population in conformity with law and universally recognised democratic requirements.

Both presidents stressed that the supremacy of the constitution and law must be honoured in a democratic state.

### Russia, Oman Sign Caspian Oil Pipeline Agreement

*LD1103111795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1100 GMT 11 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Russian Minister for Fuel and Energetics Yuriy Shafrannik and Oman Vice-Premier 'Umar Bin-'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Zawawi have signed here today a protocol on cooperation between Russia, Kazakhstan, and Oman in the construction of a Caspian pipeline to transport oil from the Tengiz deposit in Kazakhstan to a new Russian port on the Black Sea coast.

ITAR-TASS was told by officials of the Russian government's press service that the Kazakh representative could not fly to Moscow to sign the protocol due to bad weather, but would "sign the document without fail, most likely today".

The first stage envisages cooperation in the construction of a pipeline from Tikhoretsk to the Black Sea terminal and the building of piers capable of handling 15 million tonnes of oil a year.

### Communique Hails Russian-Omani Ties

*LD1103141895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1406 GMT 11 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 11 TASS—Russian-Omani relations are developing in the spirit of constructive cooperation, says a joint communique circulated here on Saturday on the results of the talks between the Government delegations of Russia and the Omani Sultanate, which ended in Moscow.

Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin participated in them on the Russian side and Sultanate Deputy Premier Qays 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Zawawi on the Omani side.

The delegations stated that bilateral relations are being filled with specific and substantive content. Positive results of Chernomyrdin's visit to Oman in November 1994 and his meetings with Sultan Qabus played an important role in this respect.

Those meetings showed deep interest of the two countries in establishing large-scale cooperation in various spheres.

Chernomyrdin and al-Zawawi examined the state of and prospects for Russian-Omani agreements in the trade and economic sphere. It turned out that business partnership in the oil and gas sphere where the two sides have rich experience, can be especially promising.

They confirmed their obligations in the framework of understandings reached earlier concerning the project of the Caspian pipeline consortium.

Chernomyrdin called attention of the Omani side to Russia's interest in the inflow of Omani investments into the Russian economy and expressed readiness of Russian organisations to participate in the implementation of economic projects in Oman on the basis of high technologies, including water desalination.

The sides expressed conviction that the further development of mutually advantageous ties will serve the interests of their nations and strengthening of peace and stability in the Gulf.

## 'Military Source' Reports on PRC Border Talks

*LD1103152495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1350 GMT 11 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Mar 11 (Interfax)—Russia and China are considering ways of expanding trust building measures along their common border, a reliable military source in Moscow has reported to Interfax.

He did not rule out that Moscow and Beijing could agree to slash their border troops. "The problem is agree on some rather important points. [sentence as received] For instance, our troops are concentrated on a narrow strip, adjacent to the frontier with China whereas as the Chinese troops are positioned in depth," the source said.

He suggested that in discussing trust building measures, the sides could benefit from the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces Reduction in Europe and apply these measures deep inside the border areas of Russia and China.

## Duma's Lukin Backs 1991 China Border Accord

*MM1603145695 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 95 First Edition p 3*

[Report by Valentina Charskaya: "Border of Accord"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladivostok—The work on the demarcation of the eastern sector of the Russian-Chinese border envisaged by the 1991 bilateral agreement must go on. That is the conclusion of the representatives of the Federal Assembly chambers' two foreign economic relations committees, who are visiting Maritime Kray to study this question, and the kray administration. At a news conference in Vladivostok the two sides announced an accord to conduct this work jointly on the basis of previously adopted documents on the demarcation of the borders between China and Russia.

We have agreed not to do anything to aggravate relations with China, V. Lukin, chairman of the State Duma Foreign Economic Relations Committee, said. No one wants to destroy the 1991 agreement. There are many differences of opinion on the demarcation question and we want the specialists to investigate it thoroughly so that we can move toward a fair solution of it. In our view the borders must be harmonized in a way that does not infringe either side's interests.

## Official Denies China Buying Russian Submarine Equipment

*LD1603223595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1408 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kopnov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tokyo, 16 Mar (TASS)—Moscow knows nothing about China's decision to buy the latest military equipment for its submarines from Russia, Vladimir Slavkin, a senior official of the department for the questions of security and disarmament of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated to the ITAR-TASS correspondent. Slavkin is taking part in an international seminar on the problems of conventional arms trade which opened in Tokyo today.

Asked to comment on the Japanese media reports on this issue, he noted that officially China did not make such a request to Russia. At the same time, Vladimir Slavkin did not rule out the possibility of Chinese representatives having preliminary talks directly with the manufacturers of such equipment who have rights to negotiate direct deals with foreign partners. [passage omitted]

## Moscow Denies Boosting Border Guard Contingent in Kurils

*LD1703021595 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2200 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's federal frontier service has refuted assertions that have appeared in the Japanese press on the possible drastic increase in the numbers of frontier troops in the South Kurils' zone. It was stated to the ITAR-TASS correspondent at the main headquarters of the frontier troops that the broadscale Putina-95 operation which started on 1 March and the forthcoming formation of three frontier guard divisions of various strengths, including the South Kurils' division, is not pursuing the aim of involving the coastguard forces and frontier ground forces' subdivisions in the Far East.

The reshaping of the troops of the federal frontier service, Rear Admiral Sergey Skalinov, first deputy commander of the coastguard forces of the frontier troops of the Russian Federation, reported to the ITAR-TASS correspondent, is being carried out for the purpose of boosting efficiency and manageability and for carrying out of the tasks set the frontier guards with small forces. The country's economic situation and the problem of conscription, he noted, do not allow one to even speak about an increase in the numbers of the men of the frontier guard detachments, of the coastguard forces and the aviation.

Quoting anonymous Western military sources in Moscow, the Japanese press has reported that there are approximately four thousand Russian frontier guards on the islands of Kunashir, Iturup, Shikotan, and Habomai at the present time. According to those same sources, their numbers may be increased to approximately ten thousand. However, according to Admiral Skalinov, at the present time there are no such numbers of frontier guards in the Southern Kurils, just as there is no need to build up the forces in this region.

## Malay Envoy Says Yeltsin 'Hale And Hearty,' Cites Arms Buy

*MM1703111695 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 3*

[Report by G.Z.: "Embassy: Malaysians Will Not Go to War in Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] His Excellency Mr. Datuk Yakhya Baba [name as transliterated], the new Malaysian ambassador, recently took up his duties in Russia. The ambassador considers himself a lucky man since he waited just two-and-a-half months to present his credentials to the Russian president whereas his other unfortunate colleagues are usually in an agony of suspense for six months. Having seen Boris Yeltsin with his own eyes Mr. Baba angrily denied the slanderous rumors that have been leaked in the press regarding the Russian president's state of health: "He looked extremely hale and hearty and made a tremendous impression on me with his in-depth knowledge of my country. I was one of a small group of people who met with him and I can assure you that Mr. Yeltsin is as healthy as any of us." The ambassador also denied certain Moscow newspaper reports that Malaysia intends to stop procuring arms from the Russian Federation: On the contrary, a contract will shortly be signed for the purchase of 18 MiG fighters. Malaysia intends to pay for them by supplying rubber, electronics, and the food that Russia needs so much today —palm oil, for instance. Mr. Baba very much doubts that any of Muslim Malaysia's citizens will take up arms to defend their Chechen brothers—"my country's inhabitants are too busy earning money"—but he did express the hope that the war in Chechnya would soon come to an end.

## Russia To Supply Helicopters to Brazil

*LD1103153495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 11 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Mar 11 (INTERFAX)—A Russian joint stock company that produces light helicopters has prepared documentation for the sale of MI-34 helicopters to Brazil, the company's general director Mikhail Grinis told Interfax.

Grinis refused to say how many helicopters would be sold to Brazil. Neither did he specify their price. He said, though, that Brazil stood to pay "several million dollars" under the new helicopter deal. Earlier, Brazil placed orders for five $ 350,000 MI-34 helicopters.

U.S. experts feel that 100 to 150 helicopters on the order of MI-34 can be sold in Brazil.

## Political Issues

### Yeltsin Expecting Clinton on VE-Day

*MM1603190395 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 1*

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko and Viktor Litovkin: "Boris Yeltsin: The President Is Running the Country, the Chechen Problem Is Being Solved, and the Security Service Knows Its Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 16 March Russian President Boris Yeltsin received in the Kremlin not the chief editors, as the news agencies reported, but leading journalists of major Western media—editors and observers of THE NEW YORK TIMES (United States), FINANCIAL TIMES (Britain), LE MONDE (France), YOMIURI (Japan), AL-AKHBAR (Egypt), CORRIERE DELLA SERA (Italy), and DIE WELT (Germany). He talked with them in private for nearly an hour.

After the conversation RIA NOVOSTI Chairman V. Markov, who had participated in it, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent what had been said behind closed doors. According to him, the president dwelt on the topic of reforms, noting that 1995 had started better from the economic viewpoint than last year and inflation had fallen from 17 to 11 percent. Production had increased in approximately half of the sectors.

Of course, the foreign colleagues wanted to know about relations with the United States and events in Chechnya. The president had said that there were no particular problems in Russian-American relations, although both sides were concerned about the problems of ratification of the SALT-II Treaty. He was opposed to the major, accelerated expansion of NATO, since in his view this did not accord with either European or world security. An exchange of letters on this question was in the offing, the president had stressed.

B. Yeltsin had noted that President B. Clinton would definitely come to Russia this year, probably on 9 May, when the leaders of many states would gather in Moscow. F. Mitterrand had already agreed to come. According to B. Yeltsin, the U.S. President would not want his stay in Moscow to be covered with military hardware in the background. The parade on Red Square would involve a marchpast by veterans and a presidential speech, but with no military hardware on show. The situation in Chechnya, he believed, would be no obstacle to the U.S. President's visit either. B. Yeltsin had said that the negotiating process would pick up there in the very near future, but with forces that had not participated in the fighting. According to him, Dudayev deserved to be tried, since he had destroyed a mass of people, bought up weapons, and was making preparations for a rebellion in Russia. The date of parliamentary and presidential elections in Chechen were currently being decided.

B. Yeltsin had been asked a very unexpected question about the role of his security service, which allegedly influences even economic decisionmaking. The president's reply had been as follows: The most important decisions are made by the president, the security service protects the president from terrorists, and economic matters are not its prerogative. The decisionmaking mechanism is as follows: Every Tuesday I meet with V. Chernomyrdin and we decide on fundamental positions in the reforms sphere, and then no one—neither the vice premier, nor the ministers, nor the presidential structures—can change the decisions that have been made.

The day before the meeting with the Russian president the journalists from seven Western countries participated in a roundtable, "The Chechen Crisis: Cause and Effect," held by RIA NOVOSTI in its building on Zubovskaya Square. That evening Oleg Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Russian government; Justice Minister Valentin Kovalev, and representatives of other departments had put their view of the Chechen conflict for the benefit of our colleagues and of Russian journalists.

The main flaw in the conduct of the military operation in Chechnya, Oleg Soskovets told the journalists, was the rather poor supply, or, rather, the total absence of information. Hence the distorted picture the Russian and world public got of what was actually happening there, according to the vice premier. Soskovets did not, as he usually does, blame these mistakes on the independent media, but tried to show the events in and around Groznyy in the best possible light as far as the Russian leadership was concerned. He was supported by the justice minister in his speech.

Of course, they talked about the criminal organizations that had taken shape at state level in Chechnya over the past three years, about the Dudayev regime's violation of the local population's rights, about the innumerable talks between Moscow and the republic's leadership which led nowhere, about the legality of the Russian government's actions to restore order and the disarming of bandit formations, and about the fact that that was not a religious war or an interethnic clash. They also said what measures were currently being adopted to restore normality amid the damage and destruction of the Chechen capital, and about the billions this would cost.

But no one pointed out that this destruction, these tragedies, and the loss of many thousands of lives could have been prevented had the federal authorities not neglected the social conflict in Groznyy to the point where the sole and chief remaining means of resolving it was force, carried out, moreover, in the crudest fashion.

### Yeltsin Signs Decree Dismissing Deputy Defense Minister

*LD1603154495 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1454 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian President Yeltsin signed a decree dismissing Colonel-General Boris Gromov from the post of deputy defense minister. Radio Moscow Echo was given this information by the general's aide, Vasiliy Gromov.

In February Boris Gromov was posted to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as chief military expert.

### Italian Journalist Meets Yeltsin: 'In Excellent Form'

*BR1703134295 Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 17 Mar 95 p 9*

[Report by Rodolfo Brancoli: "A Leader in Excellent Form Seeks More Confidence From West"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow—The fact that the leading organs of the international press were invited to Moscow for a real first, a collective interview with Boris Yeltsin, under a shining St. George running the dragon through, is a sign that there is an awareness of what a negative influence has been exerted by a series of events in recent months, to the extent of causing all the important capitals, starting with Washington, to ask serious questions about the Russian president's staying power, about a possible change of course in his policy in an authoritarian direction, and about his real intention to pursue the path of reforms. That is, to the extent of starting to challenge the very foundations of the strong international support on which he has been able to rely hitherto.

It is not only Chechnya, though the brutal nature of the intervention there has already resulted in, among other things, a freeze on the ratification of the economic and trade agreement with the European Union and is making Clinton's Moscow visit uncertain. And it is not just the tension that has been created with Washington over NATO's enlargement to the east.

The very way in which the decision to intervene was made has caused people to wonder whether Yeltsin really is in control, or whether he is a prisoner of what is already being called the "party of war," comprising the select group of people with whom he has surrounded himself. A number of "stage-managed" murders, against the background of crime on a disturbing scale, give the impression of gang warfare to gain not only the country's wealth but also political power. Though Wednesday the lower house approved a budget characterized by austerity, doubts still remain aboutn the ability to adhere to the stabilization plan—so much so that the IMF, in granting of a substantial loan, intends to monitor how things really stand, monthly instead of quarterly. Last, there are doubts even about Yeltsin's state of health, after widespread reports of his appearing confused.

So let us start with this point. The Yeltsin with whom we met in the Kremlin yesterday, in the very rooms where Gorbachev worked, pending the restoration of the building that will become the president's office, seemed on excellent form. He seemed very prompt, specific, and responsive. And certainly the first message that he wanted is issue was that it is he, and nobody else, who is in charge of the country, as IZVESTIYA indicated in its front-page headline, summarizing the tone of his meeting with the foreign press. Indeed, he replied in a very lively manner, with a very steady voice, when one of the interviewers asked him who really makes the economic policy decisions, apparently referring to the controversial role assigned to security chief General Aleksandr Korzhakov.

The second message is that the most acute stage of the economic crisis should be considered past and that the reforms are continuing, entering a second, more advanced stage. The third, which is of international significance too, was that the quest for economic integration with a large number of the former Soviet republics (he mentioned Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine in particular) must not be regarded as an underhand way of recreating the relations of subordination that existed before.

In the more strictly international field, perhaps the most significant point made was that, although there are disagreements over the enlargement of NATO, they have been "exaggerated"—by the media, of course, which are always the scapegoat in these situations. The inference is that the opposition is no longer one of principle, but concerns the pace and timing of the operation and the nature of relations with Russia. Here we must await the exchange of letters with Clinton, which Yeltsin confirmed is being planned, and that will be made public. It is also clear that he attaches great importance to a visit by the American President in May, to the extent of prompting him to alter the character of the event so as not to cause him any embarrassment over the weapons that have caused such a massacre in Chechnya. Last, there is a desire to give the impression that the problems in Chechnya are moving toward a solution. And above all it is hoped that it will soon cease to be the focus of international attention.

### Yeltsin: Chechnya To Be Democratic Republic Within Russia

*LD1703134695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1251 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 17 Mar—"The Chechen Republic will be a democratic republic, within the Russian Federation—this is decided and definite," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said today, speaking to journalists in the Kremlin.

The head of the Russian state reported that he met a group of foreign journalists yesterday and discussed Chechnya in detail with them. The president said the "round table" on seeking ways of settling the conflict in Chechnya that took place in Moscow had made a great impression on the journalists. "Those I spoke to now see what has happened and what is happening and—most importantly—what will happen in a different light," the Russian president stated.

### Yeltsin Approves Statute on Foreign Ministry Status

*MM1703091495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 95 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Foreign Ministry's Status Enhanced"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Statute on the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been ratified by an edict of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

The statute establishes the Foreign Ministry's subordination, as a federal organ of the executive branch, to the head of state in questions assigned to the president by the Russian Federation Constitution or in accordance with Russian legislative acts. The Russian foreign policy department will coordinate the activity and monitor the work of other federal organs of the executive branch to ensure that the Russian Federation pursues a unified political line in relations with foreign states and international organizations.

The Foreign Ministry also makes within its terms of reference decisions of a normative nature, which must be carried out without fail by other federal organs of the executive branch, Russian Federation components' executive branch organs, local self-government organs, and institutions and organizations, irrespective of their organizational and legal norms and departmental subordination, when they make international contacts.

An autonomous section for strategic problems might be created in the ministry's structure in the near future. This would be the implementation of the instruction to sharply increase long-term forecasting that Yeltsin gave the ministry at a meeting in the Kremlin Tuesday [14 March].

### Yeltsin on Ukraine Summit, Yakovlev Resignation

*LD1703144695 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unidentified correspondent] The ambassadors of eight states presented their credentials to the Russian president in the Kremlin today. Journalists took advantage of the ceremony for a direct word with Boris Yeltsin. This time there were two items of news: The president reported that the talks on preparing a Russo-Ukrainian summit are coming to an end.

[Begin Yeltsin recording in progress] ...in April, no later than May, still we are hoping for April, will end in an official visit by the president of the Russian Federation to Ukraine. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The second, sensational, news concerns the resignation of Ostankino Television head Aleksandr Yakovlev.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] This is not a resignation; it is his request. I do not want to reveal everything, but he will be creating a new party. The creation of a democratic, a united democratic party, which will play a big role in the election campaign is very important. Therefore his role in that direction is more important, that was the general agreement, all of this was done with his content. As far as Lazutkin is concerned, well everyone knows Lazutkin. Although I did have some questions for him earlier, well I am not such a malicious person, I decided to forget this. Thank you very much. [end recording]

[Correspondent] We should explain that Valentin Lazutkin has been declared the new head of Ostankino. In recent years he has worked as deputy to the changing chairmen of the television company.

### Yeltsin Positive on Relations With Government Branches

*LD1703153795 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin has made a positive appraisal of the political situation in Russia. During a meeting with journalists in the Kremlin today Yeltsin noted that his relations with the State Duma, the Federation Council, and the government were very good. There are no currently no particular problems between the various branches of power. It cannot of course be said, he stressed, that everything is fine and we have resolved all problems. Nevertheless, reform in Russia is making progress.

### Yeltsin Edicts Reorganize Bolshoy Theater Management

*LD1703100995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0951 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 17 Mar (ITAR-TASS)—Vladimir Kokonin was dismissed from the post of general director of the Bolshoy Theater today by an edict of the Russian president. [passage omitted]

Another edict states that the Bolshoy Theater will be managed by its artistic director and by the executive director of the Bolshoy Theater. The post of general director of the Bolshoy Theater is abolished in connection with this.

The Russian Federation Government is instructed to appoint an artistic director and an executive director of the Bolshoy Theater within a week.

## Yeltsin Staff Seen Taking Over Budget Policy Control

*MK0903084595 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 9 Mar 95 p 1*

[Report by Andrey Bagrov under the "Government Reshuffles" rubric: "They Say 'Government,' But Mean 'Administration'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Aleksashenko has resigned. Generally speaking, this is an ordinary event, just like its official explanation—"of his own accord" or "for personal reasons." Nonetheless, information received by KOMMERSANT-DAILY from the Finance Ministry and the Central Bank indicates that this resignation may be a final move in a multi-stage combination aimed at wresting control over the execution of the budget not only away from the Finance Ministry, but also from the government, and turning it over to the presidential administration.

Just recently Sergey Aleksashenko's star seemed to be at its zenith. His ascent of the career ladder has effectively brought him to a decisionmaking level: Upon becoming the first deputy of acting Finance Minister Sergey Dubinin, he emerged as the key supervisor of the budget. The rise proved to be a brief one, however. Being an advocate of tight financial policy, Sergey Aleksashenko could not fit in with yet another turn of Russian economic policy, which was conceptually formalized in the presidential message to the Federal Assembly. Having proclaimed investment incentives a priority objective (including by reverting to state investment orders), the message effectively interprets the fight against inflation either as an already resolved problem—which, of course, is not true—or as something of secondary importance. As a result, Sergey Aleksashenko was first pushed aside from the post of first deputy minister and now has to leave the gray building on Ilinka altogether.

Still, the story in which lofty ideals clash with the behind-the-scenes side of Realpolitik conceals much more profound problems than the choice of a specific bureaucrat. In the Finance Ministry - Central Bank - Government - Presidential Administration quadrilateral, draft documents have been circulating that would considerably change the procedure for running state finances. The idea of the documents is to get the Federal Treasury on a working footing as quickly as possible.

*The Federal Treasury was set up by presidential edict back in December 1992. Being part of the Finance Ministry, this body was to oversee all operations with federal budget money. It is effectively designed to be a banking institution of sorts to whose accounts budget funds will flow and from which they will be expended. Given that treasury bodies are being set up at three levels (the Main Administration of the Finance Ministry, administrations in the Federation components, and local branches), one may talk about a shortening of the process through which payment documents have to run and the virtual elimination of the side-effects from federal funds being placed on accounts in commercial banks.*

One problem involved in turning the treasury into an effective body is the need to equip it with up-to-date information technologies. The crux of the upcoming reform is that the problem should be resolved precisely this way. The presidential staff is going to see to that. Concurrently with the creation of information networks, the staff, represented by Budget Administration Head Igor Moskovskiy, will, of course, effectively retain control over the treasury's operation and, therefore, direct control over execution of the budget.

In the long run, implementation of such a project may significantly change the balance of forces on the Russian political scene. At the same time, it is not so important that the government is losing a critical tool of controling state finances. That the legislative branch of power is losing the illusion of controling the execution of the budget is not much of a revolution, either: technically it has levers to pressure the government, but it is powerless in relations with the presidential staff. More importantly, a tight presidential control over the entire Federal Treasury from the bottom up, once established, will give the administration a formidable tool for influencing the economy's financial sector, such as relations with authorized banks operating with budget money that are quite numerous nowadays. Although the very idea of a treasury seems to be ruling out commercial banks' involvement with budget funding, in practice neither representatives of the presidential staff nor Finance Ministry officials ruled out the possibility of retaining the institution of (budget-related) authorized banks in the future. In this case the presidential administration may effectively translate into reality plans that have long resounded within the Kremlin walls with regard to setting up financial-industrial groups with in-built political sympathies.

For all its advantages, implementation of this scenario still holds a modicum of risk for the president. First of all, he will have to take over responsibility for budget policy. At a time when experts of the IMF, whose executive director, Michel Camdessus, is arriving in Moscow today [9 Mar] to complete talks on a 6-billion-dollar loan, have focused precisely on the execution of a fairly austere federal budget, Boris Yeltsin is finding himself in quite a vulnerable position, given that not a single Russian budget since 1990 has ever been implemented. When the presidential administration will have to make such a decision, however, it will be guided, to all appearances, by exclusively internal political considerations: In the run-up to elections, the objectives of consolidating the current authorities' social support base will outweigh possible damage to the president's authority in the international finance community.

## Chernomyrdin Details Plans for Chechnya

*MM1703112995 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Mar 95 Weekend Edition p 2*

[Letter from Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to I.P. Rybkin, chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma, "On the Russian Federation Government's Actions To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic"; followed by a "List of Russian Federation Government Measures To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic (In Accordance With the Plan of Measures To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic Ratified by the Chairman of the Russian Federation Government")]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Esteemed Ivan Petrovich!

The normalization of the situation in the Chechen Republic can only be achieved by means of a political settlement via the implementation of measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in the republic.

The Russian Federation Government, in accordance with the Russian Federation president's instructions and on the basis of the Russian Federation Constitution, Russian Federation presidential edicts, and Russian Federation Government decrees and directives, is constantly working both to provide backup for the activity of the republic's population and restore its ravaged economy and to seek concrete means of establishing peace in Chechnya and secure a political settlement.

I ratified the long-term Plan of Russian Federation Government Measures To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic.

The situation that has taken shape to date in the Chechen Republic indicates that the settlement of the crisis cannot take place in a trice. In order to successfully perform this task it is necessary to implement a stage-by-stage, coordinated, unified plan of action, which incorporates the following main sections:
measures to secure a peaceful political settlement to the crisis in the Chechen Republic;
measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in the Chechen Republic;
measures to provide information support for the activity of the federal authorities in settling the crisis in the Chechen Republic.

Over the next few days the Public Council Under the Chairman of the Russian Federation Government will convene once again in order to assess the results of the initial stages of the implementation of the plan for a peaceful settlement and outline future areas of work.

At the same time it is very important to formulate a concerted position for all branches of federal authority—the chambers of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly, the president, and the Russian Federation Government—which will make it possible to resolve the problem of the Chechen Republic by acting on a "united front."

The list and sequence of the most important political steps reads as follows:

1. First it is necessary to actively conduct talks on the creation of zones of mutual nonuse of force. Combat operations should be immediately suspended there, the opposing sides disengaged, heavy arms surrendered, and their storage organized under the supervision of groups of mediators and with guarantees from the elders.

In a number of areas of Chechnya talks are already under way regarding the creation of these zones. Today it is very important to make joint efforts to work out their general status and, in addition to resolving military issues, find means of resolving administrative and humanitarian problems. This means delivering humanitarian freight and aid, carrying out restoration work, providing guarantees and ensuring the population's civil rights and liberties, and much else besides.

The Russian Government's proposals regarding a cease-fire and the establishment of local truces have long been known and are all still valid, as are the guarantees of an amnesty for people who lay down their arms.

The creation of zones of mutual nonuse of force is a condition for the subsequent stage-by-stage demilitarization of Chechen Republic territory.

2. At the same time it is necessary to consistently organize intra-Chechen dialogue on matters pertaining to the formation of an effective, responsible authority in the Chechen Republic, build up republic political structures for the transitional period in order to seek a formula for national accord and reconciliation and resolve urgent humanitarian and managerial problems. A number of fundamental steps have already been taken in this direction linked with the creation of and commencement of the work of the government of national accord led by S. Khadzhiyev and the formation of a Committee of National Accord.

One of the most important tasks facing the Committee of National Accord must be to prepare documents on elections to local organs of authority and to the Chechen Republic parliament and also the draft of a new Chechen Constitution.

3. In the political settlement process it is important to place the emphasis on the development of local self-government (it is at this level that vestiges of the prestige of the authorities and the government have survived in the Chechen Republic) and the preparation and holding of elections to organs of local self- government, which should precede elections to the Chechen Republic parliament.

4. Only once a stable situation has been established in Chechnya can republic-wide elections be held to the

Chechen Republic parliament along with elections of republic deputies to both chambers of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly.

5. The main task of the legitimate representative organ of authority—the republic parliament—is to form a Chechen Republic government.

6. The question of the special features of Chechnya's status and of its legal definition and consolidation shall be resolved by an intrastate treaty on the demarcation of objects of jurisdiction and authority between federal organs of state power and Chechen Republic organs of state power on the lines of the treaty with Tatarstan. This treaty should constitute the final stage in the political settlement process.

The Government of the Russian Federation is doing and will do everything in its power to restore peace, order, and normal life in the Chechen Republic, and I am relying on the support and assistance of Russian Federation State Duma deputies in this extremely important and difficult work.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin

**List of Russian Federation Government Measures To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic (In Accordance With the Plan of Measures To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic Ratified by the Russian Federation Government)"**

### I. Measures To Reach a Political Settlement to the Crisis in the Chechen Republic

**Stage 1. The Creation of Zones of Mutual Nonuse of Force and the Commencement of the Gradual Demilitarization of the Chechen Republic**

1.1. The implementation of talks on the creation of zones of mutual nonuse of force and their gradual expansion

1.2. The gradual demilitarization of Chechen Republic territory and the suspension of the activity of illegal armed formations:

the confiscation and destruction of heavy arms, the elimination and disbandment of major illegal armed formations (including by means of "reciprocity" [vzaimozachet] under the supervision of observers and with guarantees from the elders);

the monitoring [kontrol] of strategically important points;

the holding of talks with field commanders regarding a cease-fire and the surrender of weapons;

the confiscation of weapons from the population (including by means of payment, under the leadership of authoritative people from the population centers and the clergy)

1.3. The formation of local organs for the safeguarding of law and order, which form part of the unified system comprising the Russiian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and territorial judicial and prosecutor's office organs on Chechen Republic territory

**Stage 2. The Organization of Intra-Chechen Dialogue on Matters Pertaining to the Formation of a Responsible Authority in the Chechen Republic and the Stage-By-Stage Political Settlement of the Crisis**

2.1. Cooperation between federal organs of authority and support for the measures adopted by the transitional Chechen Republic government (the Government of National Accord) to restore structures of authority and government and the socioeconomic sphere, along with law and order on Chechen Republic territory

2.2. The formation of a Committee of National Accord—temporarily performing the functions of the Chechen Republic's organ of representative authority during the transitional period (with its membership being expanded to include authoritative representatives of population centers, the elders, the religious authorities, and leaders of the Chechen diaspora in Russia)—and the drafting of documents on elections to organs of local self-government and the Chechen Republic parliament and the draft of a new Chechen Republic Constitution

2.3. The holding of elections to organs of local self-government

2.4. The preparation and holding of elections to the representative (legislative) organ of authority—the parliament of the Chechen Republic—and of Chechen Republic deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma and Federation Council, and the holding of a republic referendum on a new Chechen Republic Constitution

2.5. The formation of a Chechen Republic Government

2.6. The drafting of a treaty on the demarcation of areas of jurisdiction and authority between federal organs of state power and Chechen Republic organs of state power

### II. Measures To Stabilize the Socioeconomic Situation in the Chechen Republic

1. The implementation of a series of urgent measures to provide the population with social assistance

2. The implementation of urgent precautionary and preventive measures to avert epidemics

3. The restoration of construction organizations, the construction industry, and the construction materials industry

4. The restoration of vital installations

5. The restoration of oil extraction and oil refining

6. The restoration of fundamental sectors and the production infrastructure

7. The restoration of consumer goods production and the provision of commodity and consumer services for the population

8. The restoration of agro-industrial complex enterprises and the implementation of spring field work

9. The restoration of social facilities

### III. Measures To Provide Information Support for the Activity of the Federal Authorities To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic

1. Information and analysis support for the work of the Russian Federation Government to settle the crisis in the Chechen Republic.

2. The organization of work with representatives of the mass media

2.1. Support for the work of the Mobile Information Center of the Russian Federation Government Press Service under the Territorial Directorate of Federal Executive Organs in the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation Government Press Service's Operational Information Bureau

2.2. The accreditation of representatives of the mass media for work in the Chechen Republic (on the basis of the interim Statute on the Accreditation of and Procedure Governing the Work of Representatives of the Russian and Foreign Mass Media under the Territorial Directorate of Federal Executive Organs in the Chechen Republic)

3. The organization of broadcasting on federal television and radio channels to Chechen Republic territory and the preparation of programs at local studios

3.1. The organization, preparation, and dissemination of radio programs for broadcasting to the North Caucasus region, including in the languages of the peoples of the North Caucasus

3.2. The organization of television broadcasting on federal television channels to Chechen Republic territory

3.3. The planned commissioning of a radio station and radio studio complex, and the work of local television and radio studios

3.4. The organization of the preparation of local television and radio programs (including in the Chechen language) involving authoritative representatives of the Chechen Republic, elders, and representatives of the re-emergent republic organs of authority

3.5. The implementation of restoration work at the Groznyy television and radio center

4. Other informational measures

4.1. The preparation and publication of a series of brochures on the crimes perpetrated by Dudayev's regime in the Chechen Republic for foreign and Russian readers

4.2. The preparation of a series of documentary films on events in the Chechen Republic

4.3. The organization of central newspaper delivery to the Chechen Republic population and to units of the Combined Armed Grouping of Federal Forces

4.4. The preparation and implementation of a series of meetings with ambassadors and official representatives of the CIS states, the Near East, and Europe

4.5. The organization of explanatory work with representatives of official circles and international organizations (the United Nations, the CSCE, the Council of Europe, the International Tribunal [as published], rights-defense organizations, etc.) in Moscow and abroad.

## Chernomyrdin Calls For Combat-Free Zones in Chechnya

*LD1603181895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1718 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Yezhov and Andrey Serov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin called for creation of zones of mutual non-use of force in Chechnya. He chaired a meeting of the public council for assisting Chechen settlement, which was held in Moscow on Thursday.

Addressing public council members, including Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray, parliament's upper house Deputy Speaker Ramazan Abdulatipov, other prominent politicians, public figures and people of art, the prime minister said the general concept of a stage-by-stage settlement in Chechnya had already been developed. And negotiations on zones of mutual non-use of force should become the first stage on this way, he believes.

According to Chernomyrdin, all hostilities are to be immediately ceased in the said zones, which is to be followed by disengagement of the confronting sides, seizure of heavy weapons and their hand-over for safe keeping under supervision of mediating groups and against guarantees of eldermen.

The second stage of the peace settlement process should cover a dialogue between Groznyy and the opposition with a view to create effective and responsible government in the Chechen Republic for a transition period pending democratic elections. "It is very essential now to identify, with assistance from mediators, the forces in Chechnya capable of ensuring state administration in the troubled republic, to arrange and held democratic elections, which are to become the third stage of the peace settlement", Chernomyrdin noted.

The prime minister admitted that he had deliberately delayed to convene a meeting of the public council set up as early as in January, since "it was necessary to craft radically new approaches towards a social and national reconciliation in the Chechen Republic".

### Chernomyrdin Prepared for Any Talks on Chechen Cease-Fire

*LD1603202595 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the government said today that he was prepared for any talks that would bring about a cease-fire in Chechnya. He was speaking at a meeting of the public council for a settlement of the Chechen crisis. The establishment of peace, the prime minister considers, is the prime condition for further steps to normalize the situation in the republic.

Several proposals for a peaceful settlement of the crisis were put forward for discussion at the public council. In the opinion of Academician Kudravtsev, the continuation of combat actions—and the Army is continuing to bear the whole burden—is leading to deaths among the civilian population and to the destruction of valuable materials, is increasing the danger of partisan warfare and is playing into Dudayev's hands. In connection with this, Chernomyrdin noted that Dudayev's formations did not observe a single accord. There is virtually no one today with whom we can try to reach agreement.

At the same time Ramazan Abdulatipov [Federation Council deputy chairman] criticized the recent actions of the governmental commission, stressing that its proposals in essence are a continuation of the attempt to put pressure on Chechnya by force. He called for this logic to be changed since it has not justified itself. The opinion was expressed that the republics of the Caucasus region and other subjects of the Russian Federation were playing a growing role in the peace-making process.

The decision was taken to coordinate common approaches to the problems of achieving a settlement between the government and both chambers of parliament with the participation of experts. Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray noted that yet another attempt had been made to coordinate the positions of all branches of power.

### Chernomyrdin: IMF Loan Reveals 'Trust' in Economic Policy

*LD1603141595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1148 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Mar 16 (Interfax)—The completion of talks with IMF on a $6.2 billion stand-by loan for Russia is "a vote of trust from the world community" in Russian economic policy, Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin declared at a cabinet meeting on Thursday.

He recalled that the negotiating partners had come to terms on "virtually all matters of principle."

The joint statement put out by Russia's Government and Central Bank envisages basically "inflation free budget funding," an appropriately tough fiscal policy, a number of effective measures to stabilize state revenues and to further liberalize foreign trade significantly. These moves, according to Chernomyrdin, will provide for "real financial stabilization" already this year.

In addition to his words, compliance with the principles, inherent in the joint statement, will create a favorable investment climate and will make it possible "to restructure the economy and set up necessary market institutions." This approach will never be revised nor corrected, Chernomyrdin declared.

This year's commitments "not only guarantee the irreversibility of economic reforms but ensure steady economic growth in Russia," said.

He specifically stressed the significance of the State Duma passing the 1995 budget. Its adoption, he remarked, will be "a great help for the government in its work." He also emphasized that for the first time over all these years of reform Russia had its budget endorsed in the first quarter.

### Chernomyrdin: 1995 To Be Year of Financial Stabilization

*LD1703143695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1416 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Filatov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—"1995 will be the year of financial stabilization in Russia," Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin stated speaking today before participants of the all-Russian economic meeting on the problem of stabilization and development of the agroindustrial complex of the Russian Federation.

The premier expressed a firm intention to curb inflation this year with the aid of a stiff monetary and credit policy. The Government, he said, has outlined a number of measures aimed at strengthening of state revenues and will carry out further considerable liberalization of foreign trade.

"All this will allow to achieve real financial stabilization in Russia in 1995," the head of the Russian Government stressed.

### Soskovets Says Council To Meet To Discuss Chechen Issue

*LD1603194295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1533 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to First Deputy Prime-Minister Oleg Soskovets, the public council under the prime-minister will meet in the next few days to discuss a settlement in Chechnya.

The Russian leadership, he told a round-table conference at the Novosti Russian Information Agency (RIA) in Moscow, stands for the formation of zones of mutual non-use of force in Chechnya. Talks should be held simultaneously with Dudayev's supporters on the surrender of arms and the separation of sides. According to the official, the federal authorities intend to encourage the militants through Chechen elders to begin talks and to organize a dialogue between field commanders and forces supporting the Provisional Council and the National Revival Government.

Soskovets said the situation is the worst in south and south-east Chechnya. He said the federal authorities could not complete restoration of railway tracks or begin full-scale restoration operations in Groznyy because of continuing attacks from militants. He said 14,000 people belong to militant formation and arms, ammunition and money continue flowing to Dudayev's supporters across the virtually open border.

Soskovets said the federal authorities had always tried to resolve the crisis peacefully. He said the Chechen conflict could not be resolved by force. The military action in Chechnya was aimed at laying the foundation for restoring constitutional law and order in this part of the Russian Federation.

Soskovets agreed that poor information backing was one of the most critical errors made while preparing the military operation in Chechnya. He said he regretted that the world community had not been sufficiently informed on the talks between the federal authorities and Dudayev before the sending of Russian troops to Chechnya.

Speaking about the lessons of the Chechen tragedy, Soskovets said it would inevitably lead to changes in the army, the power institutions as well as in state and political practice. He said it is therefore necessary to avoid making hasty conclusions and biased evaluations.

Soskovets said that the rise of the army's authority in public opinion is one of the results of the operation to disarm illegal armed formations in Chechnya. In his opinion the attitude to the army's problems would also change in the Russian government.

Soskovets said all errors made during the operation in Chechnya were now being studied in detail. He said the military operation had revealed the army's present problems and the government had decided to provide material support for the cantonments built for federal troops in Chechnya.

Soskovets said the Russian government had already spent about 500 billion rubles on restoring the Chechen economy.

## Role of Security Council Viewed

*MM0903135495 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Mar 95 p 2*

[Article by ITAR-TASS observer Tamara Zamyatina exclusively for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI under the "Controversy" rubric: "Focus: To Achieve a Balance of Interests Between the Strong-Arm and Civilian Departments—This Task Was Enshrined in the Original Concept of the Security Council. How Is It Being Implemented?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the brief history of the existence of the Security Council (SC), set up at the beginning of 1992, this organ has drawn considerable attention to itself on at least two occasions. The first time was in the summer of 1993, when the Constitutional Conference, when composing the draft of the new Fundamental Law, refused to include therein a section on the activity of the Security Council. As a result, in Article 83 of the Russian Federation Constitution there remained merely a brief mention of the fact that the Russian Federation President "forms and heads the Russian Federation Security Council, the status of which is determined by Federal law." Andranik Migranyan, at that time still a member of the Presidential Council, enunciated to the author of these lines a warning that "the founding of the Security Council and the inclusion within it of 'titular' persons may engender a trend toward its expansion into a suprastate organ."

On the second occasion, this semi-closed structure, whose activity is not regulated by legislation, forced the press to speak out loudly about it in connection with the introduction of Federal troops into Chechnya upon the decision of the Security Council.

Today, when events in Chechnya have become irreversible, when horrifying video footage of destruction and death can no longer be rewound so that the houses might rise up out of the ruins and the dead be resurrected, the question emerges of control over the activity of the power departments, whose leaders are included in the body of the Security Council and, according to the Constitution, answer only to the president as the supreme commander in chief.

From this viewpoint, there is some interest in the stance of a man who was there at the beginning of the elaboration of the concept of the Security Council and its normative formulation. This man is Security Council Deputy Secretary Vladimir Arsentyevich Rubanov.

His name, in the light of the problem being examined, drew attention to itself in the years of perestroyka, when the magazine KOMMUNIST published an article by Vladimir Rubanov entitled "From the Cult of Secrecy to the Information Culture" which was devoted to the problem of the closed nature of information and the construction of a security system in which the author allocated to the secret services by no means a central place in the formation of general state policy. He defended this viewpoint as aide to the internal affairs minister and, later, to KGB Chairman Vadim Bakatin, although their ideas were implemented via a group of Russian Federation Supreme Council experts known as Academician Yuriy Ryzhov's commission. As deputy leader of the Committee for Defense and Security in Ivan Silayev's government, Vladimir Rubanov also proclaimed a stance of general state administration of measures of national security and civilian control over the activity of the power departments, which he has kept unaltered at the post of deputy secretary of the Security Council.

In our conversation, Vladimir Rubanov stressed that "in itself the idea of the Security Council emerged because military departments usually dominate in politics when taking decisions in the sphere of national security—this is a universal trend." As such, the Security Council was, he said, conceived by no means so as to strengthen the positions of the military in state administration (they were already very strong), and not as some kind of suprastate organ, but, by analogy with similar structures in the mightiest countries of the West, as a mechanism which balances the positions of the power structures with the interests of economic and political departments with general nationwide tasks. "You know, it is more difficult for the military and administrators to 'push through' unjustified extraeconomic decisions in the presence of economists," he says.

It is the idea of balancing and coordinating the interests of the power departments and civilian departments which was, he said, enshrined in the original concept of the Security Council. The trouble is that among its members the representation of "strong-armers" has begun to dominate and the counterweight to them has weakened. Boris Yeltsin even turned his attention to the lack of an all-round political approach when preparing decisions on overcoming the Chechen crisis during a joint analysis with Viktor Chernomyrdin of the blunders which had been made.

Moreover, Security Council sessions are merely the visible tip of the iceberg. It is the interdepartmental commissions, whose functions are outlined in detail in the statute "On the Russian Federation Security Council" signed by Boris Yeltsin 3 June 1992, which make up the organizational basis of its activity. In line with the document, "by decision of the Security Council, standing and interim interdepartmental commissions are headed by members of the Security Council or persons suitably empowered by the Russian Federation president. Leaders of Russian Federation ministries and departments represented therein, their deputies, and other persons selected on the basis of a decision by the Security Council, can be members of the interdepartmental commissions." At present, 10 such interdepartmental commissions operate under the Security Council—commissions on foreign policy, defense, the economy, ecology, information safety, scientific-technical issues, the defense industry, and others.

In connection with the Chechen crisis, particular interest is aroused by the interdepartmental commission for regional policy headed by Sergey Shakhray, member of the Security Council and vice premier of the Russian Federation Government. According to Vladimir Rubanov, this commission's problem resides in the fact that "the state as a whole and the commission in particular do not as yet have conceptual answers to topical conceptual questions of mutual relations between the center and Federation components."

I once asked Sergey Shakhray why it is that the Ministry for Nationalities Questions and the vice president in charge of regional policy have no stance in respect of Chechnya, to which Sergey Mikhaylovich replied: "A unified ideology for the approach toward settling this problem has not yet been forged at the level of the Russian leadership."

Who, then, if not the Ministry for Nationalities Questions, the Security Council, or the commission under them, will work out the concept of regional policy? "If we acknowledged as a constitutional norm the fact that the Federation components willingly delegate certain rights to the center, we must make provision in legislation for how the federal authorities should act in cases where components exceed the constitutional boundaries, as in the situation with Chechnya," Vladimir Rubanov says.

Here, then, the problem of federal intervention in the affairs of Federation components arises. In analyzing it, my interlocutor emphasized that the concept of force in contemporary theory of national security has been defined fairly broadly, embracing political, economic, military, and spiritual force.

To avoid new attempts to use force in Federal relations, one of the lessons of the Chechen crisis, in the view of the deputy secretary of the Security Council, must be the elaboration of legislative mechanisms in respect of participants in armed mutiny, illegal military formations, and mercenaries, applying the full arsenal of political and economic means, and not only military means. We are, then, dealing with the "insularity" of political- legal thought shown in the Tatarstan option for building relations between the center and a Federation component and with a legislative vacuum on the issue of Federal intervention in the affairs of a Federation component.

The conclusion to be drawn from this evaluation is self-evident: The task is not so much to balance the composition of the Security Council as to allocate within it to the power structures, when preparing general state decisions, a place objectively proportional to the present significance of violence in safeguarding national security. And this will mean learning a specific lesson from the Chechen crisis, as Boris Yeltsin urged in his annual message. From this viewpoint, the inclusion within the body of permanent members of the Security Council of the State Duma and Federation Council speakers, who henceforth have the right to a deciding, and not just a consultative, vote, can only be welcomed. As for how they will vote—they will be answerable to both the deputies and the electorate for that.

Given that the problem of control over the activity of the Security Council will not be solved within the framework of the existing Constitution, it remains to resort to a demand for greater openness on the part of this structure in respect of the "fourth estate," and through it—society on the whole.

However, despite declaring year after year the need for open politics, the authorities are doing little to implement this democratic postulate.

As for the Security Council, the press is admitted to its sessions for a few symbolic minutes. Barely does the president finish greeting those present than the journalists are turned out beyond the Kremlin walls. If the issue concerns decisions by the Security Council it is virtually impossible to get information from ministers who are usually available for comment on matters to do with their departments: There, it seems, they took a vow of silence.

Following Security Council sessions, the president's press service conveys very general statements which are impossible to comment on without fear of "slipping up." But the press service of the actual Security Council greets telephone inquiries with a statement that it works for the internal needs of the Security Council and not the press. Indeed, even Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov does not indulge the press: In the space of two months of military operations in Chechnya, he held a briefing only once.

At the same time, to all appearances, Oleg Lobov is keenly aware of the barrage of press criticism raining down on the structure led by him. But instead of blaming journalists for "criticizing something they know nothing about," it is far more constructive to come out and argue openly with the press on issues of the activity of the Security Council, something for which I am grateful to Security Council Deputy Secretary Vladimir Rubanov.

It seems to me that Security Council members are keeping their work under wraps less out of consideration for state secrets than through fear of personal accountability for the decisions being taken or because of an absence of a principled position of their own. According to information from my Kremlin sources, none of the members of the Security Council dares oppose Boris Yeltsin openly at the sessions, and if controversy does emerge then it is only out of a desire to lay blame on the shoulders of others.

This information was confirmed indirectly by Federation Council Speaker Vladimir Shumeyko, who recently became a permanent member of the SC. While in Kaliningrad, he told how when, following the hospitalization of Nikolay Yegorov, the president suggested to the vice premiers attending a Security Council session that the sick minister for nationalities' affairs be replaced in Chechnya, all eyes fell on Sergey Shakhray, but he averted his gaze. Some time later, First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets was appointed Russian Federation plenipotentiary in the Chechen Republic.

In this context I liked one of Vladimir Shumeyko's few ideas: If decisions are made collectively and recommended to the president for edicts to be signed, if nobody declares his personal position, then all members of the Security Council will have to share responsibility with the head of state.

Again, from a political point of view Security Council decisions need broad publicity: The country must know its heroes so that it is not only the president who is answerable to society and history for unpopular decisions.

It is likely to take a long time for this structure and other departments to recover from the blow dealt by the Security Council decision on Chechnya.

And if Supreme Commander in Chief Boris Yeltsin listed as one of the lessons of Chechnya the need for reform in the Army, then, as Security Council chairman, he also indirectly acknowledged the need for the reform of the Security Council through his statement on lost opportunities for a political analysis of a forcible settlement of the Chechen crisis.

I repeat: If the Security Council session is the tip of the iceberg and the decision by the Security Council on Chechnya prompted such a negative reaction in society and such tragic consequences, then it is vital to contemplate the role of the "underwater" part of the block—the role of the experts who drafted the plan for the restoration of constitutional legality in Chechnya, and the accountability of those who did not make provision to evacuate the peaceful population from Groznyy on the eve of the storming. If the decision to storm Groznyy 31 January was, indeed, taken "over a bottle," then the Security Council, having failed to give the "go ahead" to this storming operation, must pose the question on control over the implementation of its decisions and on the suitability for their posts of those ministers and generals who initiated the bloody New Year's Eve. Otherwise, sharing Vladimir Rubanov's high professional evaluation of the interdepartmental commissions, you must ask yourself the question: What is the use of them if these apologies for practical workers are executing experts' plans back to front?

Vladimir Rubanov admitted: "I feel bitter at times that those forces which should, in theory, support the thinking behind the Security Council, because of personal and group bias, are trying to compromise this institution for coordinating state interests by comparing it to the Politburo." Here our interlocutor was thinking of the activity of the interdepartmental commission on information safety, which was obstructed in the press. But its aim, he asserts, is by no means to regulate access by the press to information from the power structures. We treat information as a national resource, the Security Council deputy secretary explains. Under the conditions of the cutback in jobs for intellectuals we cannot allow a foreign firm to descend on Russia and earn millions of dollars from information to which no one lays claim regarding our enterprises. Information resources are not for free: over 50 percent of the GNP of developed countries is linked with the production of information. Anarchy in the production and use of Russia's information resources leads to the loss of its information sovereignty, and the emergence of a type of dependence under which, in order to take decisions, the administrative organs will be forced to turn to sources controlled by other states.

Just as solid a theoretical and conceptual basis was cited by the deputy secretary of the Security Council to justify the activity of other interdepartmental commissions too. The only thing, he suggests, which we need to be wary of is the usurpation by the apparatus of the Security Council of the right to autonomous expert evaluations.

Nevertheless, questions about the activity of the security council are far more numerous than the answers. Despite efforts being made by the State Duma deputies and the press, there has been no success in clarifying who actually made the decisions for the transfer of weapons to the Dudayev formations, and why at the height of the military activity in Chechnya the supply of heavy weapons to Groznyy continued and banking transactions from Russia to the territory of the mutinous republic went ahead. Former Security Council Secretary Yuriy Skokov could not give me an answer to the question about the transfer of Russian weapons to Dudayev, merely saying that in 1992 this question was not examined at the Security Council.

It is not ruled out that this kind of shroud also covers the means of deciding other problems undertaken, or about to be undertaken, by the Security Council. Therefore, alongside its reform and greater openness, the elaboration of the Federal Law on the Security Council appears especially topical, as the initiators of its adoption must above all others comply with the Constitution. The law is intended to regulate the activity of the Security Council and its commissions, envisaging both measures of control over its work and measures of accountability for decisions taken, so that they really further the security of citizens and society, and do not impinge upon their rights.

### Shumeyko Hospitalized With 'Serious Cold'

*LD1603195395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 16 (Interfax)—Chairman of the Federation Council (Russian Senate) Vladimir Shumeyko was taken to the Central Clinical Hospital this morning, well-informed sources in the Federation Council told Interfax today.

Shumeyko must have caught serious cold when visiting the Baykonur space launching site (Kazakhstan) where he was present at the launch of the Soyuz space craft on Tuesday, the same sources said.

Shumeyko will remain in hospital for several days, the same sources said.

## Media Issues

### Further on Resignation of Ostankino's Yakovlev

#### Yakovlev: I Cannot Work With 'Demagogues'

*LD1603142895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1319 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS observer Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 16 Mar—"I am leaving the post of chairman of the Ostankino State Television and Radio Broadcasting Company because I can no longer work with demagogues," Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev told an ITAR-TASS observer, following a meeting of Ostankino journalists, during which he encountered unjustified, in his view, opposition from a small part of the 5,000-strong workforce.

Yakovlev said that he is also thinking of leaving the post of chairman of the Federal Television and Radio Broadcasting Service and intends concentrating on establishing the Public Russian Television [PRT]. He is the chairman of the board of directors of PRT.

#### Yakovlev Criticizes Staff's Outlook

*LD1603172295 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in English 1603 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] On 16 March, Aleksandr Yakovlev, head of Ostankino, the largest Russian television and radio company, said he was resigning from office. He said the decision was taken due to the fact that now that a number of TV channels have separated from Ostankino, the company's staff is made up of the people who reject creative competition.

Yakovlev said that all that these people want is to devise budget allocations and make big money on commercials. I am leaving the post of chairman of Ostankino, he said, because I cannot work any more with those professing demagogy. Yakovlev added he would most likely leave the post of the chairman of the federal TV and radio broadcasting service as well because, he said, he wanted to concentrate on setting up Public Russian Television.

#### Yakovlev Interviewed on Resignation

*LD1603193495*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1614 GMT on 16 March carried an eight-minute report in its "Panorama" program on the resignation of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev as chairman of Russia's Ostankino State Radio and Television company.

The program began by reminding listeners that earlier today Yakovlev stated that he is resigning from his post; he did so after attending a heated meeting of Ostankino journalists, which had been called to express no-confidence in him because he has not allegedly been safeguarding the interests of the Ostankino company and defending the interests of its workforce. At the meeting, his resignation was demanded.

At the conclusion of her report on the meeting Mayak radio correspondent Yelena Kadusheva said: "The meeting was very emotional and very heated, and we very much doubted that Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev would want to speak after it was over. Nevertheless he did receive the journalists from certain editorial offices and did us the honor of including the Mayak radio correspondent. I now invite you to listen to Aleksandr Nikolayevich, but I should like to say that the first question that we all unanimously asked him was how serious and final his resignation decision is."

In a recorded interview, Yakovlev said: "The decision is final. I think that these 100 people have very much let down the Ostankino work force. I am sorry, but it is not within my character for me to let them use me as a doormat."

Kadusheva then asked: "What about the work force of Ostankino and Public Russian Television [ORT]? The work force is not yet a single entity. Who will go to ORT and who will stay with Ostankino?"

Yakovlev answered: "I did not want any such division and wanted to preserve a single work force. This will not now be so."

Kadusheva then said: "You mean, following this meeting?"

Yakovlev answered: "Yes, following this meeting. True, one should ask the other 3,900 people whether or not they want this. I considered that there was a need to set up independent studios—studios for art, sport, folk creativity, and culture and education—for them to be organized as affiliated companies, for them themselves to decide as shareholders whether they wanted an open or closed type of company and decide who would stay with them and what programs they would produce, for a general agreement to be concluded between the holding company and ORT, and for us to guarantee them program time. ORT is not a broadcasting company. ORT will be purchasing products from other companies, including Ostankino. That is to say, it will buy the best products. Make good products and we shall be glad to purchase them. The only thing that we shall produce is news."

Kadusheva asked a final question: "Do you, as leader, consider this meeting of just 100 people out of an enormous workforce to be typical of the whole of Ostankino?"

Yakovlev responded: "No, of course not. I mix with people, don't I?"

### Yakovlev Claims To Have Done 'Best'

*LD1603201095 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] About 100 representatives of different Ostankino programs and departments got together today in a studio of the TV center on the Koroleva street; the journalists passed an appeal to the president. Let me remind you that according to the president's decree, the Russian Public television is due to start broadcasting on the 1st TV Channel. Therefore, Ostankino is losing its right to manage airtime. The journalists are asking Yeltsin not to give away the airtime to the Russian Public Television because, as they believe, this will destroy the television culture and technology which it has taken dozens of years to create. Those present expressed no confidence in Ostankino Chairman Aleksandr Yakovlev and accused him of the inability to protect the company's interests. [passage omitted]

[Begin Yakovlev recording] I wanted to do what was best, to be honest with you. I tried to explain—although to deaf ears—that I wanted to be able to protect interests of Ostankino in the Russian Public Television, in this transfer from Ostankino to the new broadcasting company. This transfer would be sometimes direct or sometimes indirect; direct—as in the case of ITA [news service], for example, or in buying good programs. This, I thought, was my goal. Now, as a result of all this, the facility to defend these interests has been taken away from me. So let them now fend for themselves. [end recording]

In spite of all this, Ostankino still has the right to make its own programs and use the Public TV's airtime for airing them. Yakovlev said that only quality programs should receive airtime, and the viewers' assessments will be the main criterion. [passage omitted]

## Military & Nuclear Issues

### Dniester Security Minister Denies Fighters Sent to Moscow

*MK1603113095 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 11/87, 16-22 Mar (Signed to press 15 Mar) p 2*

[Interview with Vadim Shevtsov, Dniester Republic of Moldova state security minister, by Aleksandr Trushin: "Vadim Shevtsov Disproves." 'This Is an Idle Invention and Provocation'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While in Moscow, Major General Vadim Shevtsov, Dniester Republic of Moldova [DRM] state security minister, said the following to our correspondent Aleksandr Trushin:

[Shevtsov] Rumors of Tiraspol militants being sent with weapons to Moscow are an idle invention and provocation. Many people know that in the Dniester Region on 26 March there will be elections and a popular referendum on pulling out the 14th Army. Appearing on the local commercial television channel, Gen. Lebed urged inhabitants to stay away from the referendum. The army command obviously intends to solve this problem while taking no account of the Dniester people's view.

People from the Dniester Region have indeed been in Moscow since 9 March. But they are no "militants;" they are a government delegation. On the delegation are Aleksandr Karaman, DRM Vice President; Ilya Milman, Court of Arbitration chairman; Andrey Manaylov, State Control Committee chairman; Boris Akulov, Gosteleradio chairman; and myself, state security minister. We are here, first, to invite observers for the referendum and the elections; second, to explain to the Russian leadership the situation surrounding the republic. Members of the delegation were received in the State Duma, the General Prosecutor's Office, and the Russian Government.

I can also elucidate the questions regarding the persons named by Colonel Bergman. The bankers, Bondarenko and Vergus, were arrested for illegal financial operations carried out in collusion with staffers of the 14th Army's Field Bank; these acts were damaging to the DRM and, to an even greater extent, to Russia. Major Filatov of the DRM State Security Ministry was arrested on suspicion of selling arms with 14th Army servicemen. "Dniester" Battalion Commander Kozmiruk was removed from command last year for having completely lost control of his personnel.

As for Col. Bergman himself, he is no military commandant of Tiraspol but chief of the military commandant's office of the Tiraspol garrison of the Russian Federation 14th Combined-Arms Guards Army.

## General Lebed Interviewed on Power Struggle

*BR1603153295 Amsterdam ELSEVIER in Dutch 10-11 Mar 95 pp 52-53*

[Interview with Russian General Aleksandr Lebed, by Wierd Duk and Aleksandr Zjilin, in Moscow; date not given: "'Do I Look Like Pinochet? No, and I Do Not Like His Methods'—A General With a Presidential Presence"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Duk] Politicians and bungling superior officers have discredited the Russian Army. What way out do you see?

[Lebed] I do not think that the whole Army has been discredited. There is a proverb: Lions which are tended by donkeys cannot win against donkeys which are tended by lions. If we work on the basis that it really was the assumption to restore the constitutional order in Chechnya with the help of the Army, then the total inability of those who prepared this operation becomes clear.

Defense Minister Pavel Grachev now says that the large number of victims should be put down to the fact that the Army is not well equipped and trained. Why did he not say that openly to the president earlier? A few months ago he was still giving assurances that the Army could carry out any duties. Should I conclude that Grachev is a liar?

There is only one way out. Immediately stop the military actions, stop killing innocent civilians, go to the negotiating table, and start negotiations.

[Duk] Who is responsible for the way events have gone?

[Lebed] I cannot avoid the impression that in Moscow there are forces which initiated this slaughter in an attempt to then call a state of emergency in the entire country and cancel next year's presidential elections.

An independent inquiry should give an answer to this question. But to tell the truth, I do not think that in our circumstances an inquiry into the criminal activities of military and political members of government is among the possibilities. On the contrary: At present everything is actually being done to hide the consequences of the war. According to journalists, the bodies of Russian soldiers are buried secretly, so that they do not appear on the official death lists. That is barbarism. Those who are responsible should be punished.

[Duk] Who rules Russia at present?

[Lebed] I do not know. The impression exists that the political climate is determined by a clique round the president. For example the legal basis for the Army's intervention in Chechnya is still not clear. In any case I have not seen a presidential ukase on the subject.

To give another example: Last year Moscow provided military equipment to the Chechen opposition. Who was behind that decision? Yeltsin's Chief of Staff Sergey Filatov said recently that no official decision had been taken about these deliveries. Does that mean that Russia is offering its henchmen arms illegally? Why are the public prosecutor, the justice minister, and the security services saying nothing about it? Are they perhaps deaf?

[Duk] You have often criticized your defense minister, Pavel Grachev. Other commanders refused to follow his orders. Is there a danger that the Army will be politicized?

[Lebed] The fate of my country and its army is very precious to me. That is why I always give my opinion openly and honestly about what I see happening around me. It is my constitutional right to make clear what the consequences could be of decisions which have not been thought out properly. For example: The Defense Ministry announced that an intervention unit was to be set up. Well: Where is it and why was it not deployed in

Chechnya? The answer is simple: All that talk about reforming the Army is pure rhetoric.

The Army is not divided by generals who give their opinion, and refuse to let themselves get dragged along in a Chechen adventure, but by irresponsible politicians who misuse the armed forces for their political ambitions.

[Duk] Relations in Chechnya between Defense Ministry troops and Interior Affairs Ministry troops are poor. Is there a conflict between the various armed forces?

[Lebed] The fact that the regular troops of the Interior Affairs Ministry earn more than the Defense Ministry soldiers makes clear the priorities of the present ministers in terms of power structures. Never before has the regular Russian Army been so humiliated by its own regime. That is bad, not just for national security, but also for the security of the authority itself. But those in power do not think about that. Just as they do not think about a great number of other important matters.

[Duk] What do you think about the fact that some people, like General Aleksandr Korzhakov, the head of the presidential bodyguard, have their own armed forces at their disposal?

[Lebed] In general I do not like the militarization of state structures. It is abnormal and brings with it the danger that political conflicts are settled with weapons. If the law was followed in Russia, then there would be no need at all for all these special security troops with unclear, poorly defined functions. In the meantime the general public is unprotected against the violence of criminals and the so-called Spets troops, despite the expansion of the police force in Russia.

[Duk] It is said that you are the right strong man for Russia. Lebed is compared with Pinochet.

[Lebed] I am a soldier and I have military problems on my mind. At present I must solve the problems connected with the readiness of the 14th Army. As long as I am a soldier I will have no time to speculate about politics. And do I look like Pinochet? No, and I do not like his methods.

[Duk] Leaders of the democratic opposition are said to be looking into the possibility of cooperating with you?

[Lebed] Who is said to do that? I see no organized democratic opposition. There are a few populists who have put on a democratic appearance to stop their political inflation. The word democracy has been hopelessly discredited in Russia. In the first place democracy is an attitude of all social groups to the law. I have already said that respect for the law is totally absent here. Is democracy perhaps triumphing in Groznyy today? Or before that in Moscow, when the elected parliament was blown away? What I see is a colossal enrichment of those who are in the vicinity of the political Olympus. They are damaging the interests of the motherland with their shameless greed. But I am certain that in the near future the chickens will come home to roost.

[Duk] How do you see the future of the Russian Army?

[Lebed] Our Army will get a respected place in society and play its role conscientiously. Russia's geopolitical situation demands that this country has a well-equipped, ready army. I do not exclude that the Army will be integrated in the international military- political systems. That will make a great contribution to international security.

[Duk] What are the consequences of the Chechen conflict for Russia's international position?

[Lebed] Moscow does not give two hoots about international opinion. And yet the West is continuing to support those currently in power in Russia, because it refuses to understand that a strong and stable Russia, free of dictatorship and authoritarianism, is safer and more profitable for everyone than a weakened, corrupt Russia which is in a constant death struggle.

In any case in the short term I am more concerned about the internal consequences. This war is costing too much money. Financially it cannot be managed for long. And then what?

[Duk] Has not the Chechen campaign actually been a success? From now on nationalistic leaders from the regions within Russia will think twice before they follow Dudayev's example.

[Lebed] Perhaps the military campaign was also intended to scare others, but Moscow has shown its military weakness too clearly. If this action had indeed been carried out by the Army in two hours, as Grachev promised, then these provincial leaders might have perhaps become afraid. But I am afraid that this fiasco will only strengthen separatist tendencies.

Our present politicians do not want to see that the world has changed. The politics of the knout no longer work. Fear is not a basis for relations between states. Russia has everything necessary to tie the other republics from the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to it: raw materials, a colossal market, enormous industrial potential, and unlimited economic possibilities. Order must be restored in the country to get all this on the rails. I am convinced that this will happen and that Russia will live again.

[Duk] Will presidential elections be held in Russia in 1996? And if they are, who will win?

[Lebed] Only God can answer that question.

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## Yablokov: 'Real Threat' From Dumped Nuclear Fuel, CW

*MM1703121795 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "A Total Nightmare!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia is faced with a real threat to its environmental safety, Aleksey Yablokov, chairman of the Russian Security Council's Interdepartmental Commission for Environmental Safety,, said Thursday [16 March] at the opening of the three-day All-Russia Congress on Questions of the Rational Use of Nature, INTERFAX reports.

He called the 100 or so nuclear submarines which have been decommissioned as "floating atomic bombs"; according to him, 30 of them have not had their fuel unloaded.

What is more—again according to him—17 nuclear submarine reactors have been dumped in the Kara Sea, including some containing nuclear fuel.

Yablokov indicated that while according to official figures Russia has 40,000 tonnes of chemical weapons [CW] stockpiled, it has produced several times more than that. The bulk of the chemical weapons, he claims, have been dumped underwater, burned, or buried, which poses a tremendous danger both to the environment and to human life.

## Federal Assembly

### Official: Federation Council Needs Time To Consider Draft Budget

*LD1603172695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 16 (Interfax)—The upper house needs more than two weeks to consider this year's draft budget, approved by the State Duma on Wednesday, Head of the Federation Council's [FC] Committee for Constitutional Law, Judicial and Legal Matters Issa Kostoyev says.

Speaking at the first session of the Constitutional Court on Thursday, he said it was impossible to adopt a budget law within 10 or 14 days of the Duma's approval. To make his case, Kostoyev pointed to the substantial amount of documents involved and the Duma's repeated failure to pass them to the upper house on time.

Unlike other laws, the budget is subject to approval by the Federation Council, which must be allowed to determine its own schedule for considering it, he said.

The Federation Council meets next Thursday to consider the budget.

### Federation Council Yet To Submit Chechnya Query to Court

*MK1703084095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "There Has Still Been No Query on the 'Chechen Case' at the Russian Federation Constitutional Court"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Issa Kostoyev, chairman of the senate committee on constitutional legislation, who yesterday represented the interests of the Federation Council at the first plenary session of the Constitutional Court, confirmed that the query on the constitutionality of the president's and the government's normative enactments issued in connection with the Chechen crisis and the combat employment of Russia's Armed Forces on its own territory is still being clarified and finalized. The prospects of the "Chechen case" being opened in the Constitutional Court are therefore uncertain. Kostoyev evaded answering questions about the exact content of the Federation Council query or the expected time frame for its submission to the court.

### Duma Rejects Yeltsin Version of Draft Electoral Law

*MK1603145095 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 95 p 1*

[Report by Indira Dunayeva under the "Parliament" rubric: "Presidential Draft Turned Down. Ivan Rybkin Intimidated the Deputies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As expected, yesterday the State Duma deputies turned down the presidential draft law "On the Election of State Duma Deputies" and reviewed the draft in the form in which they adopted it as far back as in November 1994 (with the ratio of 225:225 retained, and the possibility of running for election simultaneously on federal slates and in a constituency provided). A purely formal vote on that draft was upset twice by slow-witted Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, who decided that Article 70 was removed from the draft—the one saying that the associations, which had been elected to the State Duma in the previous election, were not to collect voter signatures in their support. It took rather long to convince him that there would be a separate vote on that article, and only in its third attempt did the Duma confirm its November decision by 262 votes.

Then, however, the deputies were skillfully confused by Speaker Ivan Rybkin: After numerous ballots and formulations, they failed to notice that they had voted for the exclusion of Article 70 not from amendments, but from the text of the draft law. Thus, Article 70 was excluded by 308 votes. In the evening, the law was adopted.

One can easily presume that the deputies will not forgive Rybkin that trick; likewise, they will not forgive the Duma's exempting its factions from privileges in the election, and they will try to block that draft law in third reading.

"It would have been better, if the deputies, when reviewing the draft law on the State Duma election, had paid more attention to Boris Yeltsin's amendments," Andrey Loginov—head of the President's Administration Directorate for Work with Political Parties, Public

Associations, Factions and Federal Assembly Deputies—said in an exclusive interview to POSTFACTUM.

Loginov emphasized that the presidential amendments were made on the basis of a "detailed analysis of the social and political situation in the country; and their principal aim is to let the parliament consist of professional lawmakers rather than of marginal leaders."

In Andrey Loginov's opinion, however, even if the deputies do not accept the presidential amendments, the president will not waive this draft law.

## Duma Rejects Reconsidering Decision To Dismiss Kovalev

*LD1703174195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1437 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Mar 17 (INTERFAX)—The State Duma (lower house of parliament) was unwilling to reconsider its decision dismissing Sergey Kovalev from the position of Russia's human rights commissioner.

Georgiy Zadonskiy, Russia's Choice, told the Duma Friday that by annulling the item on Kovalev in its January decision on distribution of appointments among members of party groups the lower house had violated an understanding between parties.

For this reason he wanted the Duma agenda to include a debate on the legitimacy of its deputy chairmen, committee chairmen and chairmen of the credentials and counting commissions staying in their positions.

In a 119-64 vote the State Duma rejected this motion. It needed the support of 226 deputies to be passed.

## Duma Fails To Overcome Yeltsin's Veto of Pension Law

*LD1703144495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1235 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—The State Duma has failed to overcome President Yeltsin's veto on the law about the indexation of pensions. The lower chamber of parliament got back today to the legislative act, adopted by it before, which said that after February 1 the minimal pensions for old age would be increased by 1.57 times, but the president did not sign it and issued a decree, under which additional compensation payments amounting to 19,000 roubles a month will be added to the pensions.

It is not the first time the State Duma tried to overcome the president's veto. At today's plenary session the attempt was made on the suggestion of Yuriy Sokolov from the parliamentary group of the Agrarian Party of Russia. However, the State Duma failed to get the needed 300 votes.

## Duma Refuses To Vote Again on Ostankino TV Company

*LD1703150195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1416 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—Today's plenary meeting of the State Duma refused to include in its agenda again the bill to temporarily suspend the corporatisation of the "Ostankino" TV company. Last Wednesday it was short of only 29 votes to adopt this document, which was drawn up by Sergey Kalashnikov, chairman of the Duma Committee for Labour and Social Insurance.

The motion to include it in the agenda for the second time was tabled by Sergey Reshulskiy, parliament member from the Communist Party faction. His proposal was backed by Yeketerina Lakhova, leader of the "Women of Russia" faction, but the MPs have turned it down.

## Duma Rejects Motions on Grachev, Kozyrev, Luzhkov

*LD1703145795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1205 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 17 (Interfax)—The State Duma (lower house of parliament) did not support the motion by Yuliy Rybakov, Russia's Choice, that it should discuss the suitability of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev to his post. With the necessary majority being 226 votes, only 182 voted for the motion.

Rybakov said that Grachev's firing of popular generals and removal of Colonel General Boris Gromov from the Defense Ministry had dealt an irreparable blow to the prestige of the armed forces and effectively aborted reform in the army.

As few as 161 deputies supported Yevgeniy Ishchenko, Liberal Democrat, who wanted the Duma to invite Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to hear his view of reports about changes of his ministry's status and enabling it to supervise other federal bodies of authority and to issue regulations.

Nor did the deputies support Yekaterina Lakhova, Russia's Women, who proposed that the Duma hear Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, former city prosecutor Gennadiy Ponomaryov and police chief Vladimir Pankratov, dismissed recently. The vote was 177 in favor and 15 against.

The Duma did not desire to resume, as proposed by Sergey Reshulsky, to debate a bill, rejected in a first reading at the last session, on the operation of the first TV channel under which the transformation of the Ostankino channel into a joint stock society would be halted.

The motion by Vladimir Tsiku, Communist, which would declare the Belaya Vezha agreements on disbandment of the USSR and formation of the CIS null and void also failed to gain the required majority. Tsiku made his motion on the anniversary of the March 17, 1991 referendum in which a majority of USSR's electorate had voted for preservation of the USSR.

Another motion, rejected by the State Duma, was made by Vyacheslav Marychev, independent, who wanted to have former USSR president Mikhail Gorbachev's foundation audited. Marychev accused Gorbachev of dismantling the USSR and was prepared to take over the foundation and use "all its money to restore the USSR."

## LDP Deputies Demand Safety for Zhirinovskiy

*LD1703150395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1205 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 17 (Interfax)—Nearly all the members of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] parliament group, notably State Duma (lower house of parliament) Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Vengerovskiy, signed an open letter to President Boris Yeltsin, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, the Federal Assembly and all citizens of Russia expressing their concern over "the stirring up of nasty passions around Vladimir Zhirinovskiy."

According to the letter, "the demonstrative refusal by high and petty officials to provide elementary conditions for Zhirinovskiy's safety is combined in a dangerous way with hysterical attacks on him in the media." Zhirinovskiy is described in the letter as the most popular and talented statesman in Russia at the end of the 20th century.

The authors of the letter argue that the situation is extremely dangerous because "hatred is being deliberately fomented in society and the threat of a bloody strife is continuously increasing."

The liberal democrats said that three State Duma members had already fallen victim to political terror, stressed that this could happen to every active political figure and demanded that all branches of power, especially those directly responsible for managing force structures, do their best to make any tragedies impossible in the run-up to and during the elections in 1995 and 1996.

The letter ends in an emotional appeal: "Hands off Vladimir Volfovich Zhirinovskiy, a patriot to whom the destiny and good of our great power is the cause of all his political life."

## Govorukhin: Duma Should Take Initiative on Chechen Crisis

*LD1703160795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1413 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—The State Duma should come up with the initiative on stopping hostilities in Chechnya as soon as possible and on beginning peace talks, Chairman of the State Duma Commission for Investigating the Causes and Circumstances of the Chechnya Crisis Stanislav Govorukhin said today at a plenary meeting of the State Duma.

It is the Duma that should come up with such an initiative, because it is not held responsible for the coming to power and the existence of the criminal Dudayev regime. State Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin should lead a federal delegation at the peace talks, he believes.

Govorukhin stressed that his report today at the State Duma session was not a report of the commission on the work done, because "the time has not yet come for that." It is only his own ideas after a month and a half of the commission's work. In his opinion, the lower chamber of the Federal Assembly should demand from the government the information about expenditures on the war in Chechnya. Aside from it, he continued, the Duma can already adopt a resolution on the amnesty to those Dudayev men, who voluntarily lay down arms. In his opinion, it is necessary to impose a state of emergency regime on Chechnya for ensuring a legal status for further activities of the federal structures in the republic.

Criminal outrages and absolute lawlessness were typical of the situation in Chechnya for more than three years, Govorukhin said. However, the authorities came to their senses only recently. "Criminals from all the CIS member states found their way to Chechnya, because they knew they would not be extradited." Two or three people were killed in Chechnya every day for three years, flats and cars were confiscated from the Russian-speaking population. It is charcteristic that those shocking facts of human rights violations were not noticed by any of the human rights activists, including Sergey Kovalev, Govorukhin stressed in this connection.

In his opinion, "for three years the Russian authorities regarded Dudayev as their man, only with Caucasian whims."

Speaking about the actions of the federal troops on the territory of Chechnya, he stressed that after three months of fighting the army hardly controls half of the republic's territory, but it is not its fault. At the same time, he continued, during the Chechen operation the military made many tragic mistakes, "including criminal ones, which will be discussed later."

Now, Govorukhin stressed, it is necessary to do all we can for stopping combat operations, starting the restoration of the social infrastructure in Chechnya and resolving the refugees problem. Unless urgent measures are taken, he warned, epidemics of a number of most dangerous diseases, including plague, may break out in Chechnya in summer.

## Duma Wants To 'Clarify Situation With Black Sea Fleet'

*LD1703133795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1125 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—The State Duma has instructed its corresponding committees to "clarify the situation with the Black Sea Fleet". This instruction was given today by the Duma's plenary meeting to the Committee for CIS Affairs and contacts with fellow-countrymen, the Committee for Defence, and the Committee for Geopolitics. The study of the Black Sea Fleet issue was initiated by Konstantin Zatulin, chairman of the Committee for CIS Affairs, who alleged that "a document on the Black Sea Fleet is now in the making and it is a far cry from the true interests of Russia".

The Duma also voted for another motion tabled by Zatulin—to hear a report by First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets on the results of his upcoming official visit to Ukraine, scheduled for March 20.

## Duma To Consider Bill on Examining Top Officials' Health

*MK1703091095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 2*

[Report by Petr Zhuravlev under the "Expert Appraisal" rubric: "Duma Shows Concern for Health of Top Officials. Citizens Themselves May Request President's Health Examination"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Duma security committee has drawn up and will submit to deputies next week a draft law on a state medical commission. Following up on ideas first put forward by Vladimir Isakov while still a peoples' deputy and member of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, current authors under Viktor Ilyukhin (Communist Party) plan to give the State Medical Commission [SMC] the right to examine the health of the president, the speakers of both Federal Assembly chambers, the head of government and ministers, the general prosecutor, and the Central Bank chairman so as to establish "persistent inability to exercise one's powers."

According to the draft law, SMC members (there will be 15 of them) are to be appointed by the State Duma for five years. The SMC may examine, say, the president's health "at the request" of the Federation Council, the State Duma, one-fifth of the Russian Federation components' legislatures, or 1 million citizens, if they sign a corresponding petition. The health of presidential candidates must be examined on a mandatory basis.

The exhaustive list of grounds for recognizing one "persistently unable" includes three provisions: "failure to exercise one's powers for six months owing to illness," "a persistent decline in one's fitness for work," or if "the exercise of powers is contra- indicated for health reasons." The draft law says that "from the moment the SMC makes a decision on one's persistent inability... this person shall be suspended from his position," and if the issue is the president, the commission's decision is to be passed to the Constitutional Court for consideration.

Despite a long list of officials whose health the SMC is intended to examine, it is quite clear against whom this draft law is aimed. Now one is only left to guess whether the State Duma's implacables will put up with the list of grounds for deeming a person to be "unable" or whether someone wishes to render it more specific according to his own views.

## Formation of New Duma Factions Eyed

*MM1603130795 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 14 Mar 95 p 2*

[Report by Olga Burkaleva: "Three New Factions Form in Duma"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A deputy is also a human being. And it is characteristic of a human being to quickly get used to something good and also to think about the future. Thus the Duma members who have tasted life in the capital and gotten used to the corridors with their soft carpets, the halls with crystal chandeliers, and the offices with their special telephone service, have started thinking about their future. And the future inevitably reminds the people's representatives that their term of office is coming to an end in December, and that is alas not all that far away. The only way of staying within the marble walls of the State Duma is to be reelected for the next term. There is admittedly another way of joining the power structures—transferring to work in the apparatus and blending in with the officials. But, obviously, there will not be enough posts for everyone. The posts have already been filled by deputies from the former Supreme Soviet who have taken a strong liking to the power structures body and soul. So it works out that the most realistic possibility for extending your actual time in office is winning at the upcoming elections. The activity of all the Duma factions has already been galvanized, you might say, as a result of this prospect. And it is being conducted with the overt or covert desire to please the electorate. It was not without reason that, during the first month of this year alone, there were only 20 fewer deputies' inquiries submitted to the government than in the entire fall session of last year.

Migration in the Duma environment has also begun. Whereas earlier the people's representatives were tied to a specific faction and were guided by ideological leanings, now they are guided by the possibility of victory at the upcoming elections. This is said to account for the preparations to form three new factions. One of them, modestly designated "Duma-96," had already announced its existence at the end of February by declaring among its top priorities the restoration of the country's industrial potential by easing the pressure of taxation on the domestic producer. This, according to the deputies in the group, will make it possible to ease very swiftly the acute social problems in the Federation components and the regions, whose interests they intend to defend before the center as professionals in their work. They also believe that achieving this aim will make it possible, as their statement says, to influence the executive branch in a correct and professional way, and, as a result, people's standard of living will be raised this year (!). For this purpose, the group's plans include close cooperation with the president and the federal organs of executive power. The group will probably not have to spend long seeking ties with the government since, along with the deputies V. Bauer, Ye. Gusarov, V. Mashinskiy, and V. Smirnov, its organizational committee also includes V. Kvasov, former chief of the government apparatus, who had sufficient influence there at one time. It looks as though there will be no special problems with support in the regions either. Eight chairmen of representative organs of power in Siberia and the Far East have already approved the group. The directors of certain Moscow enterprises have also hastened to support it. Foreign investors are in the pipeline. But there is one small problem here—actually forming the faction. This requires assembling 35 deputies, and problems may arise here since, realistically speaking, there are only 14 deputies in the group. Another 10 are pondering the worth of leaving the factions they currently belong to and joining the new one. And the others...are biding their time.

Maybe the numerical strength of "Duma-96" will be supplemented at the expense of the "Stability" and "Russia" deputies' groups, whose formation is "in process," so to speak. (According to information from various sources, these include Deputies Mironov, Golovkov, Shichanin, Aleksandrov, and others,) Although this is unlikely. Because despite the common aim—to create a progovernment and pro-presidential faction capable of protecting the interests of these structures in parliament—their representatives have not yet found a common language among themselves, despite the fact that at the famous meeting with the president's aides, according to reports from the same sources, there were enough deputies present to create a new faction, that is, over 40 people.

However, despite the preelection parliamentary bustle, the new deputies' formations will scarcely be able to seriously influence the disposition of political forces in the Duma itself. All the illustrious political leaders are on the spot. Starting with Zhirinovskiy and ending with Gaydar (or the other way around, as you prefer). Although the latter, it appears, is continuing to have problems with the integrity of his faction's ranks. After all, it was from "Russia's Choice" that Bauer detached himself, and Golovkov and others who want as yet to remain anonymous are considering doing the same. The regionals elected from single-seat districts feel fairly confident, and many of them intend to run again. They do not need to join a new faction to do this. The opposite is most likely true—this could harm their election campaign. One thing remains. The necessary factions may be filled only at the expense of deputies who got through on the basis of party lists but who do not have any significant support in the districts and have not yet become illustrious political figures. But in that case the question of their own capability arises....

### Attempts To 'Undermine' Stability Group Fail

*LD1603141095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1242 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—An attempt to undermine a new parliamentary group at the State Duma, called Stability, has ended in failure, Viktor Mironov, one of its founders and deputy chairman of the Committee for Security, told ITAR-TASS. A crisis in the Stability group emerged on Wednesday [15 March], when Yevgeniy Buchenkov and Mikhail Putilov ostentatiously left it soon after its registration at the lower chamber of the Russian parliament.

Mironov explained the demarche by their unwillingness to leave the parliamentary group of the Agrarian party, to which Buchenkov and Putilov belonged before they handed applications on joining the Stability group. He does not rule out a possibility of pressure, exerted on them by leaders of the parliamentary group of the Agrarian party.

"Anyway, the status-quo of the new parliamentary group was not upset: on the same day Andrey Volkov, a businessman from Moscow who did not belong to any parliamentary group, handed an application on joining the stability group," Mironov said. He explained that now there are 35 members of parliament in the Stability group—as many as is needed for the registration, which, according to the working rules, cannot be revised until the end of the current session.

According to Mironov, the first organising meeting of the new parliamentary group will be held early next week. "In order to avoid a situation in which the leader of a parliamentary group dominates its members, which is typical of State Duma groups, we are going to introduce the system of official representatives, who will do all the organising work in the group on a parity basis," Mironov said.

### Liability for Breach of Federal Laws Viewed

*954E0630A Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No 6, 21 Feb 95 p 12*

[Article by Andrey Galiyev: "Prison Term Proposed for Failure To Implement the Budget—Discussion Has Begun in the Russian Federation State Duma on a Draft Law Envisaging Criminal Liability for Officials Guilty of Violating the Law on the Russian Federation Federal

Budget, Law on Customs Duty, Law on Privatization, Law on Foreign Investments, and Tax Legislation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If one attempts to characterize this document in a couple of words, nothing comes out. It literally takes your breath away to read it. You get the feeling that indeed, we have a bit too many free-employee convicts and "trusties," and here is the result—the budget deficit, structural disproportions in the economy....

The draft law introduced by Sergey Glazyev, chairman of the Duma Committee for Economic Policy, proposes that the RSFSR Criminal Code be supplemented with four articles—corresponding to the number of concerned topics: the federal budget, customs duty, privatization and foreign investments, and taxes. One cannot refrain from citing the draft Article 171-1 as a example: "Violations of the Federal Law on the Russian Federation Federal Budget."

"1. Violation by responsible officials of the Federal Law on the Russian Federation Federal Budget, effected in the form of noncompliance with indices and structure of outlays, with limits imposed upon the deficit or external loans and credits afforded to foreign states, when such actions entail significant violation of the rights and legal interests of citizens or juridical persons, or of the interests of society or the state which are protected by law—are punishable by a fine of from 100 to 200 times the minimum wage, or in the amount of the wage or other income of the sentenced individual for a period of from two to five months, or by deprivation of the right to occupy certain positions or engage in certain activity for a period of up to five years, or by arrest for a period of from four to six months, or by confinement for a term of up to two years...."

The remaining articles differ from the "budget" article only in the precise manner in which violation of the specific law is committed. For the Law on Customs Duty, it is "the affording of customs advantages in the form of decisions of state organs of executive authority exempting entities from the payment of customs duties, lowering the rate of customs duty, or returning previously paid customs duty." For the Law on Privatization and Law on Foreign Investments, it is "understating by significant amounts the real prime cost (sic!) of capital stock (fixed capital) during the privatization of state- and municipal-owned facilities and during the attraction of foreign investments in the form of joint enterprises established with the participation, in whole or in part, of foreign capital." For tax legislation, it is "the affording to physical and juridical persons of benefits (preferential terms) not prescribed by legislation in the payment of taxes, in granting extensions or effecting payment returns, or leading to a diminution in actual federal government revenues as compared with the indices authorized by existing federal law."

Judging from the authority of the violators, it becomes entirely evident that the wording "responsible officials" (only in the "customs" instance are we dealing directly with the "organs of executive authority"—KOMMERSANT) envisages the competence of the president and the government primarily. But in his annual message to the Federal Assembly, it is the president who calls for implementing the budget and opposing benefits.

**"We Are Sending a Signal: Who Are You Out There?"**

The spectrum of appraisals of the president's message by parliamentarians is quite broad—from the diplomatic words of Ivan Rybkin on the accuracy of exposition and absolute clarity of the position taken by the head of state with respect to further development of the situation in the country, to (at least) the resolute "there is not a single new word here" of Gennadiy Zyuganov (see p. 9 for details on the message). But the most interesting appraisal of the above-mentioned draft law seems to be the pronouncement not too long ago by Aleksandr Shokhin, who left his position in the government. In his opinion, the government was unable to accomplish in 1994 the tasks facing the country which were delineated in the previous message, thereby providing an opportunity for the opposition to criticize the government "not with its own lips, but based on the president's words." "The government is going to have to accomplish in 1995 at least a couple of the tasks facing the country and contained in the message. Otherwise, we will see a period of excessive strain in the economy and in society," Shokhin states.

Thus, the draft law on criminal liability for violation of the Law on the Budget, etc., emerged precisely at a time when the president, exercising his constitutional function as head of state, distanced himself, like it or not, from the government—which for its part can hardly be expected to ever agree with the concept of such a law. But the law will at some point reach the signature stage, and the president can hardly be expected to sign it. Indeed, Federation Council deputies (governors to a significant extent—KOMMERSANT) can hardly be expected to pass it. But everybody will have to face elections.

**On the Provocative and Unprecedented Nature**

Let us for the time being set aside certain outright absurdities appearing in the draft law (such as "real prime cost of capital stock"), insofar as it was evidently distributed in haste to committees—for the third reading of the budget.

On the whole, we can say that the very fact of its appearance, especially in the event of approval in the Duma Committee on Legislation (which, in the words of Sergey Glazyev, you can count on), may also exert a certain influence on adoption/rejection of the federal budget in the third reading: The apparition of this draft law will loom up before the governmental component of the conciliation commission on the budget, and indeed, those parliamentarians who are actually seeking future positions in the government will see just about the same thing.

As far as the unprecedented nature of the draft law is concerned, this is acknowledged by those who developed it. To their knowledge—and to that of KOMMERSANT experts as well—such laws are unknown in world practice. The framers of the draft law also realize that this factor occupies a place of honor among the arguments against its adoption. They intend to counter it by pointing out the nonstandard nature of behavior of our own country's authorities—to the effect that throughout the world, cabinets of governments voluntarily resign for reasons far less significant than those indicated in the draft law. It is difficult not to agree with this.

The third reading of the federal budget of the Russian Federation for 1995 is scheduled for 22 February.

## Regional Affairs

### Reportage, Commentary on Conflict in Chechnya

#### Soskovets, Other Officials Arrive in Mozdok

*LD1603194995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1916 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[Communique from the Russian Government Press Service]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [No dateline as received] "According to the mobile press information center, the situation on the territory of the Republic of Chechnya remained complex during the past 24 hours. Illegal armed formations [IAF] made an unsuccessful attempt to recapture positions earlier lost on the outskirts of the settlement of Shali. Incidents of confrontation between the IAF and the local population were observed in areas under their control. At a meeting held in the settlement of Urus-Martan, local residents invited field commanders and in a form of ultimatum asked them to lay down their arms and not to resist federal troops in order to avoid the bloodshed. The same day elders of Shali demanded from Maskhadov to remove his headquarters beyond the settlement.

Differences are also increasing among Dudayev's close circles, which is being confirmed by statements made in Gudermes by local television belonging to Gelisskhanov, one of the IAF leaders, who accused Dudayev, Yanderbiyev and Raduyev that as a result of funds spent by them, bands are now encountering difficulties, above all, shortages of arms and ammunition.

Counter-intelligence bodies have observed several incidents from the beginning of March, when Dudayev's militants through their channels tried to establish contacts with federal army personnel with the aim to persuade them to cross over to the IAF's side, as well as to sell them their regulation weapons. Measures taken by counter-intelligence and the Interior Ministry bodies also helped unmask and detain a number of residents who tried to take away arms and ammunition from areas of combat actions. Criminal cases have been filed based on these facts.

Russian first Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets, Russian Minister of the Interior Viktor Yerin and Russian Counter-Intelligence Service Director Sergey Stepashin arrived in Mozdok this evening. Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev is also expected to arrive.

Speaking of the aim of his visit on the tarmac, Oleg Soskovets said "this is a working visit in connection with improving peaceful life in the Republic of Chechnya, and Russian army's personnel should play an important role in it".

#### Soskovets Views 'Priority Tasks'

*LD1603152195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1545 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—Oleg Soskovets, first vice-premier of the Russian Federation, flew to the Chechen city of Mozdok today where he will hold a meeting of the state commission for the restoration of the economy and social sphere of the Chechen Republic on March 17 with the participation of the leadership of the Provisional Council and the Government of the National Revival of Chechnya.

During his trip, Oleg Soskovets will meet with Anatoliy Kvashnin, commander of units and subdivisions of the federal forces in Chechnya, the federal "power" ministers, as well as will visit the capital Groznyy.

The first vice-premier plans to arrange a meeting with the participation of Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Interior Minister Viktor Yerin, Chief of the Federal Counterintelligence Service Sergey Stepashin and Acting Prosecutor-general of the Russian Federation Aleksey Ilyushenko.

According to Oleg Soskovets, the Cabinet of Ministers will resolve the problem of the restoration of the national economy of Chechnya proceeding from not "mechanical rebuilding of all destroyed objects but from determining top priorities".

He called among priority tasks, first of all, carrying out spring field work, the restoration of water supply and electric power supply, the opening of rail and transport communication, house building and construction of objects of the social sphere, as well as communications.

The government's new long-term plan for the peaceful settlement of the situation in Chechnya includes proposals to complete the disarmament of illegal armed formations, measures to restore law and order and legality in the republic, and the continuation of a dialogue with elders, as well as rendering support to the Government of the National Revival of Chechnya headed by Salambek Khadzhiyev.

### Grachev Visits To 'Clarify' Tasks

*LD1603181795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1729 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Mar 16 (INTERFAX)—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has flown out to the Northern Caucasus. The minister is expected to clarify the tasks facing the armed forces operating in Chechnya and determine the strength of a task force to be deployed there, defense ministry sources told INTERFAX.

Grachev also plans to meet the Russian military commanders and troops operating in the Russian autonomy before he flies back to Moscow Saturday.

### Grachev Sees Continuing Role for Military

*LD1703084595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0812 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Mozdok, North Ossetia, March 17 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev told journalists in Mozdok that "military methods of settling the Chechnya crisis are not yet fully used up".

The general did not rule out the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the crisis but said the Dudayev militants stood to gain from a lull in the combat actions because it gave them time to reinforce their positions.

Grachev, along with officials of other Russian law enforcement agencies, will attend the conference in Groznyy called by First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets.

### Grachev Rejects Partition

*LD1703101595 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 0900 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to INTERFAX, the government commission responsible for settling the Chechen conflict was unable to fly from Mozdok to Groznyy this morning. A meeting on the rehabilitation of the republic's economy was supposed to have been held there. The flight was cancelled because of a breakdown at the radio center responsible for incoming flights at Groznyy airport. Oleg Soskovets, Pavel Grachev, Viktor Yerin, and Sergey Stepashin are expected to fly to Groznyy this afternoon.

Pavel Grachev, who has been forced to stay on in Mozdok as a result, told INTERFAX today that he does not accept the idea of partitioning Chechnya into areas controlled by federal forces and [areas controlled by] supporters of Dudayev. He said the republic is an inalienable part of Russia. Therefore, it is not right to create some kind of small state on its territory. Grachev also noted that Dudayev's main forces have already been routed. Only irregulars are fighting on his side now. Furthermore, the minister disclosed that he did not manage to secure dedicated funding in the budget for military operations in Chechnya. The government does not have sufficient funds for this.

### Russians Control Bridge Near Shali

*LD1603215895 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 2122 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] On Thursday Russian military aircraft made strikes on the positions of Dudayev's militia in the area around Gudermes in the southeastern part of Chechnya, a news agency reports, quoting artillery personnel. At the same time, the ground troops, with artillery back-up, advanced in the direction of the town of Shali where the main headquarters of the Chechens is located at the present time.

Yesterday Russian troops took control of the bridge over the river Argun near to Shali.

### Nighttime Air Strikes Signal 'New Stage'

*AU1703104595 Paris AFP in English 1004 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Argun, Russia, March 17 (AFP)—A series of nighttime airstrikes in Chechnya signal a "new stage" in Russian tactics along the front south of Groznyy, a top Chechen commander said here on Friday.

"During the day you can see what you are aiming at.... Now they just want to bomb everything under the sun," Aslambek Ismailov, commander of Chechen separatist forces defending the town of Argun told AFP.

"What other reason is there to bomb at night?", he added.

Russian bombs hit targets near Argun and Shali overnight, where Russian and Chechen forces are separated by the Argun River. The nighttime airstrikes began at this front on Wednesday night.

Ismailov said that there had been a precedent for nighttime bombing at Argun several weeks ago, but residents of Shali said that it was the first time that nighttime airstrikes occurred in their part of the front.

Chechen secessionist forces driven out of Groznyy by the Russians now consider Shali as their capital.

So far, the nighttime strikes seem to have been concentrated on military positions, although unconfirmed reports said bombs had hit civilian targets at Gudermes.

Russian planes bombed civilian targets in a daytime raid on the village of Avturi earlier this week.

Chechen fighters holding a position outside Shali said that bombs were dropped in the field alongside the road leading into the town from the west, where fighting has raged since Monday.

Loud explosions coming from that area could be heard in Shali as planes flew overhead at 11:00 p.m. (2000 GMT) Thursday.

Ismailov said that bombers struck Argun beginning at about 10:00 p.m. (1900 GMT) and again early Friday morning.

### Dudayev's War Preparations Outlined

*LD1603173895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NALCHIK, Mar 16 (Interfax)—Counterintelligence officers of the federal army group in Chechnya have found documents indicating that the Dudayev regime had been preparing for hostilities since the spring of 1994, a counterintelligence officer told the SEVERNY KAVKAZ newspaper.

He said that the documents include instructions to the leading Chechen factories on mobilization of men and resources and an order on the setting up of a group in the Industry and Engineering Ministries for developing and manufacture of small arms and other weapons.

That group was found to organize the manufacture of pistols, machine-guns and assault rifles.

The officer said that the Chechen military headquarters had planned the stationing and installation of equipment of the main and reserve command posts and purchases of arms abroad.

Dudayev's men planned to purchase 10,000 AK-74 assault rifles at $360, 3,000 PM pistols at $200 and 600 rocket-propelled grenade launchers at $2,000. The list of purchases includes over 20 weapons and ammunition items.

### Opposition Leaders Assess Situation

*MK1603150095 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 16 Mar 95 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Yuliya Kalinina, including interview with Umar Avturkhanov, chairman of the opposition Chechen Provisional Council, and Salambek Khadzhiyev, chairman of the People's Salvation Government: "Chechnya Heads For a Split, Korean-Style, Unless Federal Authorities Equate 'Opposition' With 'Dudayevites'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Chechen society, aided more than just a little by the Russian side, has definitively split into the "opposition" and the "Dudayevites." The essence of differences between them does not fully correspond to the names they are given. The "Dudayevites" are not those who are fond of Dudayev, but those who oppose Russian intervention. The "opposition" includes not those who heroically resist Dudayev, but those who recognize Russia's right to bring order to Chechnya by force. Among the "Dudayevites" one can often meet people who passionately hate Dudayev. Meanwhile, there are many people who were quite close to him among "opposition" members. So the line that divides Chechen society has been drawn not across the notorious figure of General Dudayev, but across federal forces that continue restoring the rule of law. [passage omitted]

It seems that the opposition, too, has started having doubts about the advisability of the presence of so numerous an armed force in Chechnya. Representatives of the Provisional Council wield in fact very little power. They cannot at their own initiative contact the federal forces deployed on their territory or at least learn what is going on, if not keep the situation under control. Moreover, representatives of the "opposition" administration have often been treated with contempt by Russian lookouts. For instance, Groznyy Mayor Gantemirov has not been allowed to enter the city. The lookout servicemen were confused by the fact that the mayor was driving there in the company of his bodyguards, whose appearance or essence effectively does not differ in any way from those of any other members of illegal armed formations.

The federal authorities, indeed, do not see any great difference between the "opposition" and the "Dudayevites." At any rate, the plan of peaceful settlement unveiled by the government stipulates the disarmament of all illegal armed formations, including those of the "opposition."

How do members of the Provisional Government of Chechnya fare in so ambiguous a situation, I wondered—those who have deliberately chosen to devote their lives to the restoration of law and order in Chechnya.

Umar Avturkhanov, chairman of the Provisional Council of the Chechen Republic (he has for some reason become much shorter in stature since last year). [passage omitted]

[Kalinina] What are your terms of reference?

[Avturkhanov] The Provisional Council is currently fulfilling the functions of a parliament. So, these "parliamentary" functions are part of my terms of reference. [passage omitted]

[Kalinina] Have you personally had any clashes with the Russian troops?

[Avturkhanov] No, I have not been involved in any incidents. Once my car was fired at, but this happened because it was nighttime. They simply did not know who was driving.

[Kalinina] Are you happy with the way the troops are carrying on in the city? Have there been incidents of looting, unjustified detentions, executions by firing squads?

[Avturkhanov] There have been such incidents. But criminal proceedings have been initiated on each of them, effective measures are being taken. We are aware of about 22 such cases. [passage omitted]

[Kalinina] Isn't it hard for you to restore the national economy in such conditions?

[Avturkhanov] I am very tired. Come over to Groznyy, then we could have a talk. But generally speaking, I am very tired.

Salambek Khadzhiyev, chairman of the "People's Salvation" Government (looks like a man who has long been living in field conditions).

[Kalinina] What is the situation on "liberated" territory?

[Khadzhiyev] There are too many weapons there. Those who have weapons are harassing those who don't. On all sides. The reds, the whites, the blacks, you name it... It is essential urgently to disarm everyone—fighters, volunteers, the opposition. And also to withdraw troops, hardware, tanks. You cannot imagine how many weapons are there. Let there be a militia, let it maintain order. But in present conditions it is impossible to live there, to say nothing of holding elections.

[Kalinina] Our newspaper has published materials on your ties with the State Security Committee and your business operations. Would you like to respond to the publications somehow?

[Khadzhiyev] The Groznyy-based Oil Scientific and Research Institute dealt with the development of fuel for the strategic aviation. As institute director, I cooperated with the KGB insofar as all scientists who dealt with defense matters did. I did not sign any papers about any person, of course. [passage omitted]

[Kalinina] Who do you think needed to compromise you?

[Khadzhiyev] Probably, my political opponents. Frankly speaking, I have no time to think about that.

[Kalinina] Do you think this is linked to politics? Not to attempts to redivide the "oil" business upon the arrival of new authorities?

[Khadzhiyev] All this is closely intertwined. There can be no oil business without politics.

### Avturkhanov Interviewed on Conflict

*954F1734A Nalchik SEVERNYY KAVKAZ in Russian No 9, 4 Mar 95 p 2*

[Interview with U. Avturkhanov, chairman of the Provisional Council of the Chechen Republic, by T. Gantimurova, R. Akhmedov, and A. Kazikhanov, Znamenskoye; date not given: "The People Are Tired of War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Questions from SEVERNYY KAVKAZ are answered by the chairman of the Provisional Council of the Chechen Republic.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] How do you view the situation in Chechnya?

[Avturkhanov] The government has already moved to Groznyy, and the city administration is also in place. Administrations are functioning in Staropromyslovskiy and Leninskiy Rayons of the capital. Prefects have been installed in Naurskiy, Shelkovskiy, and Nadterechnyy Rayons, and the police, procuracy, federal counterintelligence service, and courts are functioning.... We have managed to start up several bus routes, and we are bringing in drinking water. But commandos have begun to penetrate Groznyy again, and people are being fired at in the center.... On 1 March we began to set up combined posts of federal troops and troops of the Provisional Council.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] What is the situation in the southern regions?

[Avturkhanov] Toward Urus-Martanovskiy Rayon a corridor is now being blazed through the villages of Alkhan-Yurt and Alkhan-Kala. If the federal forces cover the roads next to them, the route to Urus-Martan will be open. The Provisional Council has appointed prefects in Shatoyskiy and Itum-Kalinskiy Rayons. Although in Shatoyskiy Rayon the situation has been complicated by commandos from Groznyy who have gone up into the mountains. Yandarintyev [name not completely legible] has about 60 people with him. Things are simpler in Itum-Kalinskiy Rayon; there one ravine is closed off by local forces, and that is all. As for Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon, as a result of explanatory work on the part of the Provisional Council, the population have laid down their arms. The situation is most difficult in Shalinskiy Rayon. Everyone who fought in Groznyy is now making Shali their center. Incidentally, those who were sitting in the basements of the Groznyy DGB [State Security Department] have already been taken there. In the basement of the rayon department of the DGB, according to our information, 22 Russian soldiers are being held captive, of whom only four are ambulatory, and the rest are wounded and emaciated.... Dzh. Dudayev's policy is now aimed at attacking as many villages as possible and arousing the people. We understand this and have explained it to the federal command—it will not go and destroy the villages. In Urus-Martan there is already a self-defense detachment of 250 people who have forced the commandos out of the village.... I have corroboration in the form of minutes from congresses and meetings that the people are forcing the commandos out of the villages throughout Chechnya. In the first place, the people are tired of war, and in the second, the mullahs have declared that in this case they are not dying in a holy war. But, as usual, there are many rumors, especially in places where there is no television. I was told that in Vedenskiy Rayon the commandos said: "We have destroyed the Russian forces in Groznyy. China has crossed the Russian border, and its forces have advanced in some places 40 km and in some places 240, so on whose side will we be fighting? Let us go with the Chinese!" And they believed that! Dudayev has taught them to believe.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] And where is he now?

[Avturkhanov] He visits the village of Komsomolskoye especially frequently. He told his close followers that a special group of Azerbaijanis had been created and was after him and he could not stay in one place for very long.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] If a person who is said to have many millions in foreign bank accounts and who feels at home abroad remains in Chechnya until the end, how does one explain this?

[Avturkhanov] Very simply. He has wanted to leave several times, but Shamil Basayev removed his guard and replaced it with his own.... They are saying: You got us into this and you will answer for it along with us. Let us say there is no escaping Basayev. But I am surprised at others, for example, Yusef, Dudayev's foreign affairs minister, recently went to Turkey. He brought money from there—$47,000 for Dudayev's supporters in Urus-Martan.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] We have recently heard about Dudayev's many ties outside Chechnya.

[Avturkhanov] All who support him share the blame for the tragedy of the Chechen people. So many times I have had to knock on doors of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, Staraya Ploshchad, and the Kremlin, and each time I have tried to persuade them and told them how to change the situation in Chechnya.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] Did they not understand what the situation is?

[Avturkhanov] No, they understood. But nobody wanted to take the responsibility.... And now in the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI for 24 February they have printed an article entitled "Close-Ups of the Chechen Policy and Stills of the Chechen Tragedy." They write that we (that is, Moscow—R.A.) are not the ones who have set upon them, the Chechens, but the opposition have set Russia against the Chechens and Ingush. That is, today do I look like a person who is fanning hostility? I did not start the fight, I said: "Give us arms, give us tanks, give us specialists, and we will change the present situation in Chechnya." But if they provided them, they did so half way, so that we could not accomplish anything.... That same Khasbulatov, to whom I gave the draft decree on Chechnya, did not sign it.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] And what did he say then?

[Avturkhanov] "This is not the right time. Wait." Well, they had their own affairs to deal with at the time, dividing up the power. And there was Shumeyko in the Federation Council. Vladimir Filippovich spoke very well about the need for negotiations with Dzh. Dudayev. Why did they not have them? Why did they not conduct negotiations with us? After all, at every meeting of the Federation Council, we grabbed his hand—he did not pay any attention to us. We were supposed to meet with him at 6 in the evening, but on that day after dinner Khasbulatov was rushed out of Lefortovo. Immediately—an emergency conference of the Federation Council, and after that Shumeyko met with us several times.... And today we have one commission after another: Oh, you talk about violation of human rights! And Kovalev is running here and there.... Entered in the "White Book of Crimes in Chechnya, 1991-1995" are the names of all the Russians who were killed and injured. And where are the Chechens? In a year and a half we, the opposition, lost 500 young men during Dudayev's three attacks on Urus-Martan and his several attacks on Znamenskoye and Tolstoy-Yurt. And why were we fighting the war? For our ordinary civil rights, which had been taken away from us. Where were they then, these peace-keepers, that same Kovalev?

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] A letter came to the SEVERNYY KAVKAZ editorial offices from Moscow: Chechen entrepreneurs were in favor of turning the power in the Chechen Republic over to the former Supreme Soviet of the Checheno-Ingush Republic. Do you know about this request?

[Avturkhanov] These people convened for three days: the business world, the crime world, the fathers of the people, normal and abnormal—all who had been in Moscow gathered together. For three days they convened, trying to figure out how to make the power in Chechnya legitimate. Khadzhiyev complained to me: "For two days they have terrorized me, and I," he said, "have not been able to sleep for three nights." He told them that he would not decide any questions about the legitimacy of the Provisional Council or the Supreme Soviet without Avturkhanov. I went there, since they invited me. Again about 50 people convened, and the discussion went on until 4 o'clock in the morning. I simply said to them: "It is not for us to judge the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the Supreme Soviet...." As for myself personally, as chairman of the Provisional Council I could quite well submit my resignation and relinquish the power to two people—Zavgayev and Khasbulatov, but not in Moscow but here, locally....

When I sent President Yeltsin a letter requesting help in imposing constitutional order in Chechnya, they thought I was a crazy politician. "What do you mean! They will curse you forever and turn their backs on you!..." But then when I was about to take everything on myself, when the Provisional Council had signed this application, when it finally began to dawn on Russia—then everyone fled. Then Khasbulatov quickly came here and began to stir up the people and reproach me for cowardice. Ridiculous! The peace-keeping group should be at work here now, when the people are covered with blood—but Khasbulatov is not here, he is in Moscow. And now is when it is necessary to go to see the field commanders, to the villages and cities and to persuade people.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] Many people we have met have said this: For three years under Dudayev we had a real democracy, and we did not pay anybody for anything—not for light, not for water, not for gas, everyone did whatever he wanted to. What about such people? After all, there are quite a few of them.

[Avturkhanov] Yes, there are quite a few of them. But they duped the others. It was all right for those who were more on their toes and less influenced by conscience. But we will force these people to have a conscience! For it says in the Koran: If a person is engaged in a profitable business, he must give one-tenth of his earnings to the state. And they have not given a kopek; under Dudayev they obeyed neither secular nor religious laws. Just their own.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] But who is to blame?

[Avturkhanov] I blame the people themselves for this. All this was done with the tacit consent of the majority. After all, how many times have we said at rallies: "Rise up, people! Let us avoid bloodshed!" The people did nothing. And now disaster has come to every home....

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] But still let us recall the 140 tourist firms in Groznyy, the tax-free shopping tours in the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Turkey, let us recall the cheapest material market in the Northern Caucasus. Is it possible to persuade people to give all that up and live by the labor of their own hands?

[Avturkhanov] It is possible. The people miss normal work. Not all the people gave up a decent life for that. The teachers left, the doctors left—because there was no way out; after all, they had not received their wages for two or three years.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] Will there be disarmament in Chechnya? Or is a Chechen without arms not really a Chechen?

[Avturkhanov] The only ones who will bear arms are those who are supposed according to the law. But we are not the only ones from whom they must be taken away. They have moved from Chechnya into Ingushetia, Kabarda, Dagestan, Ossetia—they were issued to all of us, and all of the Northern Caucasus must disarm.

[SEVERNYY KAVKAZ] How do you see Dzhokhar Dudayev's future?

[Avturkhanov] I want only for him to be tried and tell all the facts about his coming to power and subsequent activity. I assume that all who are now defending him, all who have been involved with him directly or indirectly are in Moscow, Chechnya, or somewhere else.

### Stepashin Views Chechen Criminal Activity

*954E0653A Moscow DELOVOY MIR in Russian 25 Feb 95 p 2*

[Interview with Sergey Stepashin, director of the Federal Counterintelligence Service of the Russian Federation, by DELOVOY MIR observer Moisey Gelman, under the "Topical Interview" rubric; place and date not given: "The Black Hole of the Russian Economy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Some people try to impart an exclusively political and nationalistic coloration to the events in Chechnya. In actual fact, what we are talking about is the resolution of a largely criminal problem. Essentially, in the Russian economy, on strategically significant territory, a black hole appeared, through which no small sum of Russian capital vanished. An economic zone free from federal laws had formed in Chechnya. Contraband, arms, and narcotics were transported into it from abroad, and thence out into Russia. Criminal financial operations were conducted there.**

**Some light is shed on this aspect of the Chechen events by an interview granted by Sergey Stepashin, director of the Federal Counterintelligence Service of the Russian Federation, to DELOVOY MIR observer Moisey Gelman.**

[Gelman] Sergey Vadimovich, briefly remind our readers, please, how events in Chechnya unfolded beginning in August of 1991. What forces brought Dudayev to power, and to what end, and why was he able to seize military equipment and arms of the Soviet Army?

[Stepashin] Dudayev's regime was established after a series of unlawful and forcible actions, which were planned in advance. Power was seized in the name of the so-called National Congress of the Chechen People (OKChN), whose chairman since June 1991 was Dudayev himself. On 6 September 1991, OKChN partisans seized the building of the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. During the seizure, they cruelly beat several deputies. Among these was Chairman of the Groznyy Soviet Kutsenko, who died of his wounds several days later. After the intervention in the events taking place in Groznyy of representatives of federal authority (Burbulis, Poltoranin, Khasbulatov, Shelov-Kovedyayev, and others), an understanding was reached on ways to a peaceful, democratic resolution of the question of power in the republic.

The Provisional Supreme Soviet was formed there, which on 18 November 1991 was supposed to conduct elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Republic. On 8 October, however, the Executive Committee of the OKChN adopted a decision on the dissolution of the just-created Provisional Supreme Soviet and virtually usurped power in the republic. That time marks the beginning of Dudayev's personal power, and on 27 October, he was "elected" president of the republic.

In response to the unlawful actions of Dudayev and his coterie, the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies on 2 November 1991 adopted a decision on the illegality of the presidential elections in Chechnya. Dudayev categorically rejected the attempts of the federal authorities to regulate the situation in the republic. He embarked on open confrontation with the federal organs of power and refused to submit to their lawful demands, encouraging extremism in mutual relations with the center. Realizing the impossibility of the autonomous existence of the republic's economy in stiff confrontation with the center, Dudayev took steps toward the creation of a single "Caucasian home," thus strengthening the disintegrationist processes in the region. In the end, according to Dudayev's scheme, an independent, sovereign state was to be formed in the Caucasus, which was to include Abkhazia, Adygea, Dagestan, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia, Chechnya, South and North Ossetia, and possibly Azerbaijan as well.

This new state, Dudayev proposed, "should be led only by its own interests, and not follow the policy of Russia." In his opinion, the prototype of such a state is the Confederation of Peoples of the Caucasus (KNK), which they consider a trial step on the path to the state unification of North Caucasus republics and their pulling away from Russia.

From the first days of its existence, Dudayev's regime strove after international recognition. After it became obvious that the Western countries did not intend to recognize it, Dudayev staked his bets primarily on the Islamic states.

However, the special services of certain Western and Islamic states displayed an interest in cooperation with official Groznyy, which can only be regarded as their intention to exploit the territory of Chechnya for actions against Russia. Dudayev and his coterie expressed a willingness to render them any assistance in this. To which archival materials of the department of state security of the Chechen Republic bear witness. It follows from them that Dudayev believes his main opponents to be Russia as a whole and the North Caucasus region in particular. In the near future we will try to make public materials from Dudayev's personal archives, which were seized in the presidential palace.

As for the seizure of military equipment and weaponry of the Russian Army, that question is complicated and far from simple. But briefly, its history is as follows. A most unfavorable situation took shape around the military units stationed on the territory of the Chechen Republic before June 1992. In order somehow to preserve our weapons, highly placed Russian officials held negotiations with the Chechen side on the transfer to Dudayev's regime of 50 percent of the arms, ammunition, and equipment. This question was settled, but obstacles arose: For the removal of arms to Russia, dozens of special trains were needed, which were not provided in timely fashion, although reports on this had been made repeatedly through the proper channels.

For his part, Dudayev demanded, in the form of an ultimatum, that the troops be moved out by 1 June 1992. Therefore, the military leadership was compelled to transfer to armed Chechen formations that were illegal from the standpoint of Russian legislation more than 40,000 rifles, about 150,000 grenades, more than 150 training aircraft, and a mass of other armaments, equipment, and ammunition, including Luna-8 and BM-21 (Grad) missile launchers. After which the small republic had the ability quickly to create well-armed and efficient formations.

[Gelman] Why did the federal authorities, over the course of almost three years, tolerate the existence in Chechnya of a criminal economic zone completely free from Russian laws, and why did they not react to the situation there?

[Stepashin] There was never any criminal economic zone completely free from Russian laws on the territory of Chechnya. The former Ministry of Security, subsequently the FCS [Federal Counterintelligence Service] of Russia, consistently reacted to the situation in the region. Therefore, I must say with full responsibility that it is not legitimate to accuse the federal authorities of holding aloof from the resolution of problems that were created as a result of the declaration of sovereignty of the Chechen Republic.

One should bear in mind that the federal security organs in Chechnya itself were completely routed, and for that reason, we were compelled to work from contiguous territories. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to put a stop to many criminal actions of the criminal Chechen structures, and we did this with a high degree of effectiveness.

The federal security organs brought to light instances of the preparation in Chechnya of counterfeit advice notes, bank notes, and other bank documents and of their subsequent dissemination on the territory of Russia and other countries.

Measures were also taken by us to guarantee security of passenger service and the safety of cargoes transported across the territory of the Chechen Republic, in conformity with the "Working Plan of Specific Actions," approved in December 1992 by the president of the Russian Federation. Unfortunately, these measures did not bring the desired result.

On the contrary, attacks on passenger and freight trains passing through the territory of Chechnya increased. And the extremist actions bore an insolent character and were accompanied by humiliation of passengers and violence to them, the conductors, and the persons servicing the freight transport. Chechen fighters also attacked trains on the territory of North Ossetia and Stavropol Kray.

The paramilitary guard that escorted the freight trains could not stand against bandit formations of 50, 100, and more people armed with automatic firearms. The facts testify that so-called regular armed formations also participated in the plunder. For example, more than 100 armed fighters participated in an attack on the freight personnel at the Terek station. The property that they stole, assessed at an extremely hefty sum, was carried away in two armored personnel carriers, 20 KAMAZ [Kama Automotive Plant] trucks, and eight tractors. In all, according to the estimates of the Ministry of Railways of Russia, the damage done to our country in 1993 and 1994 through train robberies by Chechen bandit formations came to many tens of billions of rubles. And the bandits' actions were conducted under the slogan of a return to Chechnya of "that which had been pillaged earlier." And, of course, all this took place with the knowledge and consent of those in charge in Chechnya.

The problem of security of traffic on the territory of Chechnya was known to the government and the Security Council of the Russian Federation. In December 1992 the Ministry of Security of Russia, jointly with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry of Transportation, and the State Committee on Economic Cooperation with Member States of the Commonwealth, sent to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers their proposals on the activation of struggle against crime on the North Caucasus railway. The transit of trains across the territory of the Chechen Republic was broken off three times, and since September of last year to the present time, the movement of trains has been halted altogether.

[Gelman] Can you cite examples of major illegal commercial operations in Chechnya?

[Stepashin] According to the estimates of the FCS and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, more than half of all recorded cases of the use of fake bank advice notes and 90 percent of instances of confiscation of counterfeit Russian bank notes in recent years have been connected precisely with Chechen criminal groups. Unfortunately, I cannot at the given moment say with absolute accuracy what kind of damage Russia has sustained from these unlawful actions. But the following example bears witness to its scope. Far from being the only one.

In August 1994, FCS organs exposed a group of persons of Chechen nationality who had attempted through the Stavropol TOO [limited liability partnership] Nata to receive R1.1 billion, transferred to its account by the AOOT [open-type joint-stock company] Moskhlebprodukt for the purchase of grain. TOO Nata was registered in March 1994 with a charter capital of R150,000. Its account at the Stavropol branch of the Inkombank joint-stock bank was opened at the same time, but no operations were conducted with it before the amount cited above come in, in August.

The manager of this TOO kept up close contacts with persons from Chechnya and was under their control. In August, she presented to the bank payment authorization for the transfer of R310 million and R204 million to two firms headed by Chechens, supposedly for prepayment for wheat. One of the firms presented an official statement of the presence in its keeping of 10,000 tonnes of grain, although it did not have a single kilogram. After receipt in cash of R60 million, the director of the TOO and the Chechens who accompanied her were detained by forces of the directorate for the fight against organized crime and the internal affairs directorate of Stavropol Kray. Operations relating to TOO Nata's accounts were halted, and the cash was returned to the bank. According to our data, it was planned by Moskhlebprodukt to transfer to the TOO Nata account about R20 billion earmarked by the Government of Moscow for grain procurement.

Work to stop illegal commercial operations is being conducted by all law enforcement organs, including the FCS of Russia, within the sphere of its competence.

As for the removal from Chechnya of oil and petroleum products, the FCS organs are looking into this matter at the present time. I can say only this: The damage done to Russia's economy has undoubtedly not been minor.

The export quotas set up by the Ministry of Fuel and Energy were not completely realized in 1992-1994. It is not inconceivable, however, that oil was taken out of the territory of the Chechen Republic in 1992-1993 according to additional quotas, allocated by the federal contract corporation Roskontrakt (the former Gossnab of Russia), without the agreement of the Ministry of Fuel and Energy. At this point, we do not have at our disposal information on the return to Russia of currency received for oil and petroleum products exported from Chechnya.

[Gelman] The question arises, could such operations have been realized without the participation of Russian commercial structures?

[Stepashin] In the Federal Counterintelligence Service, a special working group has been created that engages in the exposure of Russian commercial structures that have conducted illegal operations with Chechen groupings. So that work is being conducted in this direction. I can tell you several facts.

In September 1994, at the airport in Saratov, counterintelligence organs seized cargo delivered by air from the United Arab Emirates [UAE] in violation of customs rules. It did not correspond to the documents accompanying it: Instead of goods of the firm specified by contract, what was being transported was the luggage of citizens without official registration of individual customs documents. The sender of the cargo was registered as a firm from the UAE, Reem Tours and Cargo, and the receiver, the private Moscow enterprise Rubin. Acting as go-between in the transport was the Saratov TOO Legat-SN, which intended without customs inspection in Saratov to send the cargo by motor transport to Moscow in accordance with internal customs transit documents.

According to an analogous scheme, from May to September 1994, cargoes were transported and delivered by 12 air routes of various companies to the cities of Stariy Oskol, Stavropol, Uralsk, Barnaul, Krasnodar, and Astrakhan, for a total sum of R100 billion.

The head of the sender firm from the UAE and the Moscow receiver firm was... one and the same physical person, who used as intermediaries during transport TOO Legat-SN (city of Saratov), TOO Veta-Plus (city of Uralsk), and Deytlayn Oversiz Ltd. (city of Voronezh).

The founders of the Saratov and Uralsk firms are also the same persons; it was they who also effected the transport of cargoes from the above-mentioned airports to Moscow.

It has been established that the cargo transported by motor transport in the Moscow zone was not subject to customs procedures, while counterfeit documents were dispatched to the customs organs of the cities from whence it was sent out. The organizers of all these operations were people from Chechen groupings.

[Gelman] What prognosis can you give for the further development of events in Chechnya and in all of the North Caucasus? Does the threat of guerrilla war exist?

[Stepashin] Prognosticating, as is well known, is a thankless matter, although, doubtless, the struggle against the Chechen bandit formations will continue yet for some time. I suppose that on the territory of the Chechen Republic, and possibly also on contiguous territories, it will not be guerrilla war that is conducted, but precisely a struggle with bandits. Needless to say, they will not surrender voluntarily, since they have committed numerous crimes and are bound to one another with the blood of innocent people.

[Stepashin] Could it be supposed that, instead of a Chechen free economic zone, for compensation of their losses the criminal structures will create in Russia another "free zone"? And then does not the abolition of export quotas on oil and petroleum products signify a forced compensation of the losses sustained by criminal structures from the closing of the Chechen zone?

[Stepashin] Abolition of export quotas on oil and petroleum products was planned, in accordance with an edict of the president of the Russian Federation, back in September of last year, and therefore it is incorrect to suppose that the abolition of quotas is a forced compensation of losses from the closing of the "Chechen zone." As for the possibility of the creation of another zone with a high degree of criminalization, unfortunately, so far not a single state in the world has been able to conquer crime once and for all. However, Russia, probably, will take into account the experience that it has, and adequate measures will be taken to avert situations such as the one that has arisen in the Chechen Republic.

[Gelman] What would you like to add to what has been said?

[Stepashin] Chechnya has become a refuge for criminal elements that have committed crimes on the territory of all of Russia. The life, health, and welfare of the population of the republic have found themselves under threat. And not only of the Russian-speaking population. But it is precisely on that segment of the residents that the greatest constant moral and physical coercion has been practiced.

Persons of nonindigenous nationality have been ousted virtually completely from the law enforcement organs, have been dismissed from positions of leadership in departments and at enterprises. Among his own, Dudayev has stated outright that he views all of the Russian- speaking population of the Chechen Republic as a means to put pressure on Russia, and even as hostages. Mountain people have been systematically resettled by the republic's leadership onto territories bordering Stavropol Kray, where up to 40 percent of the Russian-speaking population of Chechnya was concentrated.

Because of the presence of a large quantity of weapons, the population found itself defenseless also against the orgy of crime. Forcible actions with respect to Russians, such as their eviction from apartments and houses and the theft of their personal property and motor transport, became widespread phenomena in the republic.

The situation that had taken form in the Chechen Republic and around it did not answer to the life interests either of the majority of the population of the republic itself or to the Chechen diaspora in various regions of Russia. To tolerate such a situation further was impossible. Although at the same time we can clearly imagine how serious are the problems that we must resolve in the very nearest future. A problem for Russian, and not only Russian, law enforcement organs will be bands of criminals, both those released from prison by Dudayev in return for an agreement to defend his regime and those evading punishment in Chechnya. To this must be added the danger of acts of blood vengeance, which are being spoken of more and more loudly in Chechnya.

Great complications are associated with the accommodation of refugees from Chechnya. Probably, some of the refugees will strive somehow or another to get across Russia's borders.

## Polling on Conflict Detailed

*954F1713A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 8, 24 Feb-2 Mar 95 p 3*

[Article by Dimitry Chubukov, analytical center of the "Obshchestvennoye Mneniye" (Public Opinion) foundation: "Democracy Tested in Battle"; first paragraph is introductory paragraph]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Most people in Russia did not support sending Russian troops into Chechnya. Does this mean that democracy in Russia has become so deep-rooted that we are no longer at risk of a step back to a police state?

More than two-thirds of those polled by the "Obshchestvennoye Mneniye" foundation condemn Moscow's military action. In so doing, they are guided not only by the obvious consideration that war is bad and peace is good. Over 50 percent of those polled believe that such action harms Russia's international prestige and is not worthy of a great power. Russian people were absolutely unreceptive to official propaganda with its "time-tested" stereotypes. Only 7 percent voiced their solidarity with General Pavel Grachev, who called Sergei Kovalev "Russia's enemy" (43 percent rejected this reference).

Perhaps Russian leaders were surprised not only by the actions of soldier's mothers, who helped their sons out of fighting units, but also by society's approval of these actions: three-quarters of the population express silent solidarity with soldier's mothers. An even greater surprise was perhaps the mass-scale sympathy with those soldiers and officers who refused to fulfil orders (only 24 percent condemned their conduct, whereas 53 percent approved it). Moreover, Russian society is quite unreceptive to the thought that these people must be brought to trial (74 percent oppose and only 11 percent approve).

Five years ago when Soviet army units entered Baku and the defense minister ordered a call-up of reserves, their mothers and wives went into the streets of several cities with slogans of protest. Women said something hitherto unprecedented: "If THEY are fighting there, why should OUR boys shed their blood?" At that time it became clear that former notions about statehood, great power and patriotism were being washed away. This did not mean that people had become indifferent to the country's integrity: a year after the Baku events, most of them supported a referendum for the preservation of the USSR and to this day regret its disintegration.

Most of our countrymen are lost in their private lives and are concerned about their and their family's prosperity. It is clear that any Russian will reject a war that proposes that he defend not himself, but some general principle: the war threatens not only his prosperity, but also his life and that of his children. He has not lost his patriotism, but he no longer believes that the expansion or preservation of the country's territory should be attained at all costs. Regarding the attitude of a genuine Russian patriot to the military operation in Chechnya, 52 percent of the polled answered that a patriot must oppose this operation, while only 19 percent feel that he should support it.

Some may regard this as an alarming symptom of the destruction of old state consciousness without acquiring a new one. However, others might see in this the embryo of new patriotism that compels a man to love his country not only for its ability to preserve unity and integrity through force, but also for welfare and security which it ensures for each citizen by settling conflicts not through intimidation but through negotiations. However, even if this is how matters stand, do we have sufficient grounds for optimism? Can we believe that mass-scale disapproval of the Kremlin's Chechen action shows that the democratic choice of Russia and her people is final and irrevocable?

For as long as the Chechen war continues, this question will remain open. Moreover, its delay, combined with the economic crisis that is more intensified by the war, may change people's sentiments. There is no guarantee that the image of the enemy in a new (Chechen, Caucasian, Moslem or any other) guise will not be restored. The image of the enemy is a new militarization of consciousness, a new vindication of strength and a new dictatorship. The only difference is that it will rely not on a communist ideology but on Russian nationalism, which like any nationalism, is quite compatible with the elements of the market economy.

Figures prove that this danger is not a figment of our imagination. Indeed, people oppose war, but when you ask them what they feel is a way out of this situation, Russian society is more divided in its opinion: 43 percent support the immediate cessation of hostilities in Chechnya, while 38 percent are for a more resolute use of force for the elimination of the Dudayev regime. However, in the first two months of military actions, the number of the second group did not reduce, but even increased. It can be assumed that the more people become accustomed to this war, the less they are apt to remember who started it and who is to blame for it. The main culprit will be sought and found not in Moscow, but in the towns and villages of Chechnya.

Even today the population of Russia has no particular liking for the belligerent Chechens. Only 11 percent of those polled believe that they are fighting "for a righteous cause" (38 percent are inclined to think that the righteousness is on the side of Russian troops). Mass consciousness did not respond to the opinion of Kovalev and his supporters, which says that Russian troops are opposed not by criminals but by the armed Chechen people. This viewpoint won only 21 percent of supporters, whereas 47 percent supported the version of criminals. Perhaps this will arouse optimism among some people: allegedly if people do not think that the war is fought against the Chechen people, their consciousness is safely guaranteed against the penetration of the image of an ethnic enemy, hence Russian nationalism and nationalist dictatorship do not threaten us. However, here I see psychological fertile ground to present any war against any people as a war against the criminals of a corresponding nationality.

Of course, these sentiments are being outbalanced today by the common disapproval of the war. Moreover, a society which has tasted political freedom does not wish to return to the past: 54 percent of those polled do not want dictatorship to be established in the country, neither in communist, neo—nationalist, nor in any other form. However, the word "dictatorship" does not grate upon their ears of 28 percent of our countrymen, who are ready to accept it on one or another condition. Moreover, most supporters of democracy are not idealists at all. They prefer democracy only because they expect it to improve living standards. At any rate, only 18 percent of people in Russia would choose democracy, had they been offered a choice between it and the improvement of living conditions. However, two-thirds of the population prefer more tangible things.

### Adygeya's President Signs Republic's Constitution

*LD1403140095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1304 GMT 14 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Barkina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Maykop April 5 TASS—President of the Adygeya Republic (constituent part of the Russian Federation situated in the Krasnodar territory) Aslan Dzharimov signed the republic's first constitution on Tuesday at the congress of Adygeya peoples, which was unanimously adopted by its parliament on Monday.

"Three years ago, I swore, at this very hall, to the first congress of Adygeya peoples and in its person to the multinational population of the republic who elected me the first president," Dzharimov said in an interview with ITAR-TASS here today.

"A truly historic event took place in the life of our people today: the first constitution has been signed. The republic drafted and adopted the fundamental law satisfying the absolute majority of republican population, irrespective of nationality, religion and political affiliations.

"The constitution as a document of high juridical force will be a reliable legal basis to develop legislation further as well as all spheres of republican life," the president stressed.

### Krasnodar, Adygeya Agree on Constitution, Charter

*954F1655A Krasnodar KUBANSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 15 Feb 95 p 1*

["Joint Declaration" of the legislative and executive agencies of the Republic of Adygea and Krasnodar Kray]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear fellow countrymen, residents of Krasnodar Kray and the Republic of Adygeya!

We, the representatives of the legislative and executive agencies of the Republic of Adygeya and Krasnodar Kray, met in the city of Maykop and considered the sociopolitical situation in our region.

Kuban is a house that is shared by all the residents of Krasnodar Kray and the Republic of Adygeya. Following the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual respect that has developed over centuries of joint vital activity between the Russians and the Adygs, the present generation, despite the large complexities, retains its faithfulness to their father's traditions and behests—to live in peace and harmony.

Our peoples, together, have traveled a complicated historical path and have come to the firm conviction that there is no other path other than to trust one another.

The Republic of Adygeya and Krasnodar Kray currently are at the stage of developing and adopting a Constitution and a Charter. The necessary conditions have been created for having the broadest segments of the population participate in these processes. In the course of the work on the drafts, consideration is being taken of the recommendations and comments made by public movements and individual citizens. We shall adopt a Constitution and a Charter that will guarantee the supremacy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the unity and indivisibility of the Russian state system, and will become the guarantor of stability in our region.

We call upon all of you, our dear fellow countrymen, to preserve and multiply the age-old traditions of living together in peace and harmony.

For the Republic of Adygeya:

A. Dzharimov, president. A. Radchenko, deputy chairman of the Legislative Assembly (Khase)—parliament. A. Dorofeyev, committee chairman, Legislative Assembly (Khase)—parliament. T. Beretar, committee chairman, Legislative Assembly (Khase)—parliament. A. Rudenko, committee chairman, Legislative Assembly (Khase)—parliament. Yu. Udychak, committee chairman, Legislative Assembly (Khase)—parliament. K. Dzybov, permanent representative of the Republic of Adygea, to the Krasnodar Kray administration head.

For Krasnodar Kray:

Ye. Kharitonov, administration head. A. Bagmut, chairman of the Legislative Assembly. V. Gromov, committee chairman, Legislative Assembly, ataman of the All-Kuban Cossack Army. Yu. Antonov, committee chairman, Legislative Assembly, deputy ataman of the All-Kuban Cossack Army. P. Kamagurov, permanent representative of the Krasnodar Kray administration head, to the president of the Republic of Adygeya.

### Krasnodar's Kharitonov Views Adygeya's Constitution

*954F1655A Krasnodar KUBANSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 15 Feb 95 p 1*

[Interview with Ye. M. Kharitonov, under rubric "Interview in Today's Issue: We Remain Neighbors and Friends"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As is generally known, at a session of the Krasnodar Kray Legislative Assembly a group of deputies raised the question about the fact that, in individual articles in the Constitution of the Republic of Adygeya that is to be adopted, an encroachment is made on the rights of the Russian-speaking population. It was decided to hold a summit meeting with the purpose of discussing the problems that arose. That meeting was held in Maykop last Monday. Yesterday our correspondent had a conversation with Ye. M. Kharitonov, Krasnodar Kray administration head, who headed the Kuban delegation.

[Interviewer] Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, how justified is the opinion that is being disseminated, to the effect that individual articles in the draft of the Constitution of the Republic of Adygeya encroach upon the rights of non-Adygs, and that this will have a negative effect in our kray?

[Kharitonov] First of all, the future Constitution of Adygeya should not be linked with the life of Krasnodar Kray. After all, we are different subjects of the Federation. We will have our own Charter, and we shall live according to it.

Secondly, it is more proper to speak not about encroachment upon the citizens' rights, but what is happening right now, the fact that, at this stage, certain articles in the future Basic Law [Constitution] of Adygeya go beyond the confines of the legal field of the Russian Constitution. That is precisely something that can influence the political moods of the inhabitants of the neighboring regions.

The process of constitutionalizing our republic neighbor is not proceeding smoothly. There was a first version of the Constitution, then a second and a third... There was a first reading of it, and then a second one, in the parliament (Khase), and there will be a third one. Naturally, in Adygeya itself there are different approaches to this document. There is a carefully weighed position (there even exists a group of deputies in parliament that calls itself "For a just Constitution"). There are radicals on both extremes. Properly speaking, this is natural. It is the normal struggle among political forces.

But we ought not to proceed from the fact that both Krasnodar Kray and the Republic of Adygeya are completely equal components of a single Russia. The Republic has the right to its own Constitution, so let it adopt that Constitution. But we shall modify the Charter of Krasnodar Kray and adopt it at the Legislative Assembly or by a kray-wide referendum. Possibly, even Adygeya will take the Constitution through a referendum, but this is not for us to decide.

[Interviewer] However, there exist in the kray various forces that call themselves patriotic, that would like to "prompt" our neighbors on how they should work on the Constitution, and how to adopt it (only by means of a referendum!).

[Kharitonov] Forces like that also exist in Adygeya. Our patriots call them nationalists, and they call ours chauvinists. In a word, "kissin' cousins."

But just imagine what it would be like if it was dictated to us from Adygeya how we should adopt the kray's Charter. Would we like that?

Reciprocal consultations are another matter. They are simply indispensable: the life of the kray and the republic are so intertwined economically, politically, culturally, and socially that many questions can be resolved only by working in unison. They should be resolved, and then made part of our laws.

There are not too many subjects of the Federation remaining who have not yet adopted a Constitution or a Charter, including Krasnodar Kray and Adygeya. Republic President A. Dzharimov takes a carefully weighed approach to the process of constitutionalization and does not rush the events, but we are even lagging behind our neighbors in the work on the Charter. It can be said unambiguously that, as of today, there exist factors that require clarification from both sides.

[Interviewer] Was that the reason for your trip to Adygeya with A. Bagmut, chairman of the Legislative Assembly, hetman V. P. Gromov, and other representatives of the kray's public and political forces?

[Kharitonov] We went there with the consent of, and even, I might say, on the invitation of our neighbor friends. We attentively, article by article, became acquainted with the draft of their Constitution and discussed it together. Our delegation directed the attention of the Adygeya side to a number of conceptual questions. For example, we feel that in a Constitution or Charter of each subject the principle that must be confirmed first of all is the supremacy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and of Russian laws. Those documents must also define that the subject recognizes the unity and indivisibility of the Russian state of which it is a part.

Within the framework of the country's chief Constitution, there is a rather broad field for independent decisions and the independent arrangement of life. With regard to individual decisions (in our kray, for example, those concerning the rules for transporting oil across the territory of the kray, concerning the limitation of migration, concerning the special procedure for land use, etc.), we can enter into conflict with the government. But never with the RF Constitution!

In what we consider to be a poorly thought-out manner, Adygeya is called in the draft a sovereign state. A state within a state is political nonsense. And we said that directly to the republic's managers and parliamentarians.

In general, it must be said that things are not simple for President Dzharimov, the government, or the deputies to the Khase: they constantly oppose the extremist forces that are attempting to "push through" articles that contradict the RF Constitution.

[Interviewer] Was the question of the parity between the "titular" nation and "the others" raised at the meeting?

[Kharitonov] Yes, it was. We were convinced that in a republic where more than 70 percent of the population is made up of Russians, that parity is simply necessary. Any decision that encroaches upon the rights of Russian-speakers will not pass: it will be “”sandbagged“ by the overwhelming majority of votes. But parity guarantees that a decision that encroaches upon the rights of yes can also be blocked.

[Interviewer] It is a good thing that our delegation agreed with the Adygeya leadership in this question. But did our neighbors agree with you in any respect?

[Kharitonov] They listened to us attentively, and in most instances they agreed with us. In particular, with regard to those conceptual questions that I have mentioned, consultations between the parliamentarians in the republic and the kray will continue.

[Interviewer] The press has touched upon the topic of exchanging territories between the republic and the kray, thus making it possible for Adygeya to have access to the borders of Abkhazia and Karachayevo-Cherkessia. Does that topic have any foundation?

[Kharitonov] Yes, earlier the Republic of Adygeya posed that question to the kray administration and the then kray Council. The Adygeya side did not raise that question at the current meeting.

[Interviewer] Moscow is deciding the problem of creating a Shapsug autonomy on the territory of Krasnodar Kray...

[Kharitonov] We are unambiguously opposed to having that question decided for us! It is a matter for Krasnodar Kray and its agencies of authority—the Legislative Assembly and the administration. We are the only ones who can decide whether or not there should be a Shapsug autonomy. Properly speaking, as the last two proposals I repeated the words of Adygeya President A. A. Dzharimov, that were expressed at the meeting.

[Interviewer] Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, do you consider the meeting to be beneficial and fruitful?

[Kharitonov] Definitely! And when the final stage of the work on the present Charter begins in the kray, we shall definitely invite a delegation from the Republic of Adygeya, so that they can read it and give us advice and suggestions. That is things should be done between good neighbors!

## Kuban Patriots' Congress Presents Demands

*954F1695A Krasnodar KUBANSKIY KURYER in Russian 15 Feb 95 p 1*

[“Resolution of the Congress of Patriots of Kuban”]

[FBIS Translated Text] We representatives of the multinational people of Kuban, delegates from public associations, movements, the Cossacks, and political parties and simply people of good will, have in the name of the salvation of peace and stability in our region and the unity and integrity of Russia as a whole united at a Congress of Patriots of Kuban.

On behalf of our parties, movements, and associations and on behalf of the long-suffering peoples of Kuban Oblast we demand

### I. IN CONNECTION WITH THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF ADYGEYA

That the draft Constitution of the Republic of Adygeya, which has been given its second reading and been prepared for acceptance in its third reading, be deemed illegal, anti-state, anti-Russian, and anti-popular. This draft flagrantly flouts the Constitution of Russia, asserts that Agygeya is a sovereign state, and creates a legal basis for its disarticulation from Russia.

According to this draft, the authorities of Agygeya are attempting to create a dictatorial state built on racist, misanthropic principles and are using the idea of “parity” for the division of people according to national affiliation and the language principle into “indigenous” and “nonindigenous” and the “titular nation,” and everyone else reduced to the position of second-class people.

The draft Constitution of the Republic of Adygeya, in which the local nomenklatura is attempting to enshrine for all time the privileges of the Adygey minority (22 percent) and the lack of rights of the Slav majority (78 percent), threatens to explode the fragile ethnic balance in Kuban and to plunge us into a national catastrophe with the direst consequences.

The facts that have come to light in most recent days of the supply in the guise of humanitarian freight of weapons to the criminal Dudayev regime from the territory of Adygeya have clearly indicated those who wish to detonate peace in our common home.

We demand that the president of Russia, the Federal Assembly of Russia, and the president and parliament of Agygeya immediately suspend the process of the adoption of the anti-state draft Constitution of Adygeya and bring it into line with the Constitution of Russia and international law.

### II. CONCERNING THE ATTEMPTS TO CHANGE THE BORDERS OF KRASNODAR KRAY

We consider harmful and contrived the attempts beneath the flag of restoration of the Shapsugskiy National Okrug to disarticulate from Krasnodar Kray the territories of two rayons—Tuapsinskiy and Lazarevskiy. We recognize that the forces interested in such a development of events are displaying concern by no means for the rights of the Shapsugy. The issue concerns the highly dangerous idea of the creation in the North Caucasus of a belt of Muslim states or a single Islamic state from the Black Sea to the Caspian.

We protest the disregard for the results of the referendum held in these two rayons of the kray, at which the inhabitants emphatically opposed the plans for a national okrug that are being foisted on them.

We believe that at the present time all attempts to revise the borders of our kray in any way whatever are fraught with the most unpredictable consequences.

### III. THE STATE-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF RUSSIA

Proceeding from what has been set forth above, we consider that the state-administrative division of Russia on the flawed nationality principle would be unreservedly harmful and would constantly lead to conflict. Relying on the political will of the multinational people of Kuban, we consider permissible only one principle of the division of Russia—territorial (regardless of languages, nations, or nationalities), into states, provinces, or oblasts, whatever this is called.

### IV. REFERENDUM

Proceeding from this, we emphatically demand of the authorities of Adygeya a general referendum on the territory of this self-proclaimed republic on the question of Agygeya's voluntary inclusion in a united Kuban Oblast as a component of the Russian Federation, with the city of Krasnodar as its center.

Subsequently this peaceful way of deciding the nationality question could be employed throughout the Russian Federation.

### V. PUBLIC DUMA OF KUBAN

For supervision of the observance of peace and stability in Kuban and the more extensive enlistment of all patriotic forces of the region in the preservation of the unity and sanctity of Russia and Kuban as a component of the Russian Federation, the Congress of Patriots of Kuban resolves:

to create a permanent Public Duma of Kuban with the right to represent the Congress in all organs of power and public organizations in the intervals between convocations of the Congress;

to propose that all parties and public and national movements of Kuban that adhere to the position of the preservation of its unity and integrity delegate their representatives to the Public Duma of Kuban.

### VI. CONTACTS WITH THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN MAYKOP

To form a delegation to the city of Maykop to state our position in the parliament of the Republic of Adygeya.

### VII. MONUMENT TO A.V. SUVOROV

To propose in the Legislative Assembly of Krasnodar Kray the erection in Krasnodar of a monument to the great Russian commander A.V. Suvorov.

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## Tatarstan Trade Ministry Releases Statistics, Views Tasks

*954F1742B Kazan IZVESTIYA TATARSTANA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Report by Tamara Levina: "The Ministry of Trade Sums Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The results of work in 1994 and the tasks of the republic's commerce for 1995 were discussed yesterday at a meeting of the enlarged collegium of the Ministry of Trade of Tatarstan.**

The report was delivered by Azat Nurullin, minister of trade of the Republic of Tatarstan. He observed that structural changes had occurred in this branch of the republic as of late. The administrative-distributive system has been eliminated. Five hundred and three stores, which constitutes 44 percent of the total number of stores as of 1 January 1992, have now acquired legal and economic independence. Five hundred thirty-six enterprises of trade, which constitutes 46 percent of the total number of stores, have altogether been privatized in various ways. In addition, an extensive network of private stores and commercial kiosks (13,900), which is eight times more than the former state network, has been created in the republic.

The speaker also adduced other figures, which are food for very somber thought. Thus, in 1994 the retail commodity turnover of the officially tracked enterprises of trade and public catering and the kolkhoz markets constituted R2.828 trillion and had increased in actual prices compared with 1993 by a factor of 2.9. The actual volume of commodity turnover in comparable prices, however, declined 27.1 percent.

And, further, 29.4 percent fewer nonfood commodities were manufactured in the republic in 1994 than in 1993, this including 35.6 percent fewer light industry commodities. As a result, only 18 percent of total nonfood commodities were purchased from local producers (earlier this indicator had amounted to 70 percent and more).

There is no doubt that under the administrative-distributive system only a very limited quantity of products of prestigious native and overseas suppliers were delivered to the heartland. At the present time, the niche that has formed is being filled by low- grade imported consumer goods.

What tasks have to be tackled in 1995 by Tatarstan's trade industry to ensure that the inhabitants of the republic are provided with food and industrial goods?

As the rapporteur and the speakers emphasized, we need to continue the process of privatization, strengthen commercial ties to enterprises of the republic, hold this April an enlarged republic wholesale fair for the conclusion of contracts for the sale of foodstuffs....

The chiefs of the administrations of cities and rayons of the republic also must help trade stand more firmly on its own two feet. It is within their competence, for example, to consider the possibility of the full or partial exemption of enterprises providing services primarily for the socially unprotected strata of the populace from payments from profit into the local treasuries of taxes, fees and charges, and rent and from municipal payments, and to assist the wholesale and retail trade enterprises to obtain soft loans for the purchase of basic necessities and also to build up seasonal items.

Ravil Muratov, first deputy prime minister of the Republic of Tatarstan, spoke at the meeting of the collegium.

### New Vice Governor Appointed in Maritime Kray

*954F1742A Vladivostok VLADIVOSTOK in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 2*

[Radio VVS report: "Valentin Kuzov Is Vice Governor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Yevgeniy Nazdratenko has appointed a new vice governor. He is Valentin Kuzov, who has worked in the kray administration for more than seven years.**

Valentin Kuzov has been appointed in the place of former Vice Governor Igor Lebedinets, who has become chairman of the Maritime Kray Duma and who has relinquished the powers of vice governor. Valentin Kuzov will be in charge of the kray administration administrative system.

### Irkutsk Instructed by Central Control Chief

*954F1642A Irkutsk VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 95 p 2*

[Order of 26 December 1994 N AI-24 pr, Moscow, to Yu.A. Nozhikov, Irkutsk Oblast administration chief, from V.Ya. Zaytsev, acting control administration chief: "On Eliminating Shortcomings in the Work of the Administration of Irkutsk Oblast for Implementation of the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation of 1 June 1992, No. 543, 'On Immediate Measures for Implementation of the World Declaration on Ensuring the Survival, Protection, and Development of Children in the 1990's'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Control Administration of the president of the Russian Federation in conjunction with the Commission on Problems of Women, the Family, and Demography under the president of the Russian Federation has conducted an inspection of the course of the implementation of said edict in the oblast. As was established, the oblast administration had published no normative documents to fulfill the requirements of the edict, nor had it developed measures to prepare for the programs "Disabled Children," "Children of the North," "Orphan Children," or "Family Planning." The only directive published was to implement the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation of 18 August 1994, No. 1696—"On the Presidential Program 'Children of Russia'"—in compliance with which the program "Children of the Angara Region" was prepared. But as of the time of the inspection, it had not been approved by the oblast Legislative Assembly. The only program being implemented is one for the development of the children's food industry for 1992-1995, adopted in compliance with the decree of the RSFSR Council of Minister of 31 January 1991, No. 70.

An unfavorable socioeconomic and demographic situation has developed in the region. In recent years there has been a lower birth rate and a higher death rate. Thus, the population has decreased. Analysis has shown that there is special concern over the increased incidence in children of cancer diseases, diseases of the circulatory system and digestive organs, and infectious and parasitic diseases. The epidemic situation regarding diphtheria became much worse in 1994.

Of the 1,408 functioning schools, 523, or 37 percent, are located in makeshift facilities, and 217 of them are in need of capital repair. There is no running water in 607 schools. During the period from 1992 through 1994, 144 kindergartens were shut down for various reasons. About 17,000 children have not been provided with preschool institutions.

About 108,000 people are working under conditions that do not meet sanitary-epidemiological norms. A number of enterprises are violating laws on work safety for minors. The measures necessary for keeping adolescents on the job are not being taken. There are reported cases of violation of legislation that envisions guarantees for women and children with respect to payment of compensations and stipends, for which the arrears amounted to about R4 billion as of 16 November 1994.

The oblast administration (Deputy Chief Yu.A. Kustov, who has been working there since 16 May 1994) is not devoting adequate attention to problems of family planning and rehabilitation of disabled children and orphans. A number of social, economic, psychological-pedagogical, and medical problems for improving living conditions remain unsolved. The oblast's orphan children are being raised in four young children's homes of the public health system (525 children) and [number illegible] orphanages and three boarding schools of the education system (1,878 children). There are 5,411 wards being reared in foster homes. The demand for orphanages is not being satisfied, since their numbers have more than doubled during the past two years. This has led to an overcrowding of orphanages and a deterioration of the conditions for their maintenance. At the same time, the Cheremkhovskaya boarding school, which accommodates 200, has been under capital repair since 1991.

Therefore, the children spend long periods of time in hospitals, with poorly situated families, and in shelters, and they are also released from the children's homes prematurely. As of the day of the inspection, 100 children needing to be placed in young children's homes were being kept in the permanent medical facilities alone. In the children's clinical hospital in Irkutsk there were 15 such children, and in the children's infectious disease hospital—17, including Artem Konkin and Katya Klepikova—for 10-11 months.

For the same reason, deadlines are being missed for placing minors in children's institutions of the education system. For example, the nine Perminov children have been staying for a year and a half in the temporary shelter in Angarsk.

More than half the pupils in orphanages of the education system are registered with the health clinics for various groups of diseases (ear, nose, and throat pathology, cardiovascular disorders, impaired vision, etc.). But the proper attention is not being paid to medical support for these children. The medical equipment needs to be replaced in a number of institutions, there is a shortage of medicines and instruments, and there is not enough bandage material.

As the inspection revealed, the assortment of food in children's homes and boarding schools in Irkutsk, Angarsk, and Shelekhov is limited and monotonous. Natural nutritional norms are not being met, and the ratios between proteins, fats, and hydrocarbons are not being provided.

The personal, housing, and property rights of inhabitants of children's homes and boarding schools are not being observed. There are cases where child support is not collected from parents, children's rights to housing are not being observed when it is available, and there is no inventory of property belong to minors or supervision of its maintenance.

The maternal mortality rate remains high in the oblast (1.5 times higher than the average for Russia). Because of the increase in common diseases and complications during pregnancy, the number of abnormal births has doubled during the past four years. The high level of abortion continues to have an unfavorable impact on the health of women. The indicator of abortions in the region is considerably higher than in Russia.

The overall incidence of diseases in newborns during 1993 amounted to 198.8 per 1,000 births as compared to 149.5 in 1992. On average, children fall ill twice during their first year of life.

The proper amount of attention is not being devoted to problems of disabled children, whose number has increased threefold during the past five years and amounted to 7,689. Thus boarding houses for mentally retarded children, in which 903 individuals are being kept, are financed with delays and not in full volume. They are not fully staffed with medical personnel, they have a low level of provision of material and technical supplies, including medical equipment and medications. For example, in Children's Boarding House No. 2 in Irkutsk, R2,500-R3,000 is spent per day for children's food instead of the R7,000 prescribed in the normative complement of food products. During September-October of this year children were being fed on credit. The furniture that is being used is scheduled to be written off.

The problem of finding jobs for children who have reached 18 years of age and helping them adapt to society has not been solved. During the past three years, the number of crimes committed by adolescents and with their complicity has increased by 40 percent.

The State Program for Development of Children's Nutrition for 1991-1995 and the corresponding oblast programs are being implemented extremely slowly. Mainly because of the inadequate allotment of funds from the federal budget, the construction of children's nutrition shops is being interrupted. The cities of Irkutsk and Sayansk have not yet begun the construction of these facilities, and in Bratsk it was begun only this year.

The oblast administration (deputy chief V.A. Berdnikov) is not monitoring the implementation of its own decisions regarding the creation of a raw material base for the production of children's food. Of the 32 agricultural enterprises earmarked in the oblast for the production of ecologically pure milk, only three farms have been certified and are delivering these products. Yet the need of children up to three years of age for liquid and semi-solid dairy products is being satisfied by only 32 percent.

In the oblast programs, not enough attention is being devoted to solving problems of children of the North, although representatives of 24 small ethnic groups live here. For example, 195 out of 305 Tofalar children suffer from acute and chronic disease of the respiratory organs. Many children of this nationality do not receive compulsory education.

Based on the above and in compliance with point 8 of the Statute on the Control Administration of the President of the Russian Federation, approved by an Edict of the President of the Russian Federation of 24 May 1994, No. 1015, I order:

1. Measures shall be taken to eliminate the shortcomings revealed during the course of the verification of the implementation of the Edict of the President of the Russian Federation of 1 June 1992, No. 543, "On Immediate Measures for Implementation of the World Declaration on Ensuring the Survival, Protection, and Development of Children in the 1990's."

2. The question of filing disciplinary charges for violations by officials charged with solving problems of childhood shall be considered.

I request that a report on the execution of the present instructions be submitted to the Control Administration of the President of the Russian Federation in March 1995.

[Signed] V.Ya. Zaytsev, acting administration chief.

## International Affairs

### Udovenko on NATO-Russian Ties, Reforms

*BR1503154795 Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 15 Mar 95 p 3*

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko by Ole Nyeng in Copenhagen; no date given: "Ukraine Is in a Strategic Vacuum"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sandwiched between an expanding NATO and an ever more offensive Russia, Ukraine runs the risk of becoming a buffer state in a continuing East-West conflict, Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko said.

With its 55 million inhabitants, a surface area bigger than that of France, and a strategic location on the Black Sea and close to the Balkans, Ukraine certainly is a heavyweight among the nations of Europe. Nevertheless the country is strangely ignored in the current debate on future European security structures.

NATO is in the process of expanding to the east—Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and perhaps also the three Baltic republics are on the threshold of membership. In the so-called Tashkent treaty Russia has entered into security and military cooperation with a number of former Soviet republics—and is also actively involved in a number of conflicts in the CIS countries.

This leaves Ukraine in a security policy vacuum, although it is true that it is a member of the nonbinding cooperation with NATO, Partnership for Peace, which was set up last year as a sort of anteroom for potential NATO members. But without the guarantees that full NATO membership would provide.

"Is this not a fairly untenable position?" INFORMATION asked Ukrainian Foreign Minister Hennadiy Udovenko when he visited Copenhagen in connection with the UN Social Summit.

"The expansion of NATO is a major worry for us. Suddenly we have three NATO members along our borders. Our president, Leonid Kuchma, has warned of the danger that a new Berlin Wall could divide Europe. We are afraid that Ukraine could become a buffer state between the two blocs—NATO and the Tashkent treaty which we have not joined because it is our firm policy not to take part in any military bloc," Udovenko said.

He conceded that each country must decide for itself whether or not it wants to be a member of NATO, but warned NATO against accelerating the process.

"The Russian factor is very important to Ukraine. We simply want NATO and Russia to establish good and normal relations. It is important that the expansion of NATO takes place in such a way that it does not increase the tensions in Europe. That is why we would ideally like to see a collective security system developed in Europe—and NATO eventually becoming an organization for the whole of Europe."

Nyeng asked: Can you envisage Ukraine itself applying for NATO membership?

"At the moment Ukraine is tied by two important decisions contained in our declaration of independence: Ukraine will be nuclear-free—and this is something we are now busily engaged in achieving—and Ukraine will not join any military bloc. Our parliament remains firm on these two decisions. The position of the government is that it will respect these decisions, and membership of NATO is not on the agenda.

"But at the same time it is clear that the situation is developing very quickly, and we must adapt our strategy to a new world. Both President Kuchma and myself have had meetings here in Copenhagen with leaders from a number of other countries who all asked the same thing: What does Ukraine think about an expansion of NATO? When we get home we will define our final position vis-a-vis the strategic situation in which Ukraine finds itself."

Nyeng asked: In the past Ukraine's relations with Russia have been filled with conflicts—for example, about nuclear arms, the Crimean peninsula, and the Black Sea Fleet. How would you describe relations now?

"After Kuchma's election as president last summer we have been working actively to normalize relations with Russia, and we have had such success that Ukraine and Russia reached agreement on a friendship and cooperation treaty. We are now waiting for President Yeltsin's visit at the end of the month when it will be signed.

"An agreement has been entered into on the nuclear arms on Ukrainian territory, and the question of the Crimean peninsula is not on the agenda of our negotiations. The Russian leadership—but unfortunately far from all politicians—recognize that the Crimea is part of Ukraine, and that the situation in the Crimea is an internal affair for the Ukraine. There are still separatist forces in the Crimea, but that is not a problem between Russia and Ukraine."

On the other hand, Udovenko admitted, there are still problems when it comes to reaching agreement on how the mighty Soviet Black Sea Fleet, which has its main base in Sebastopol in the Crimea, is to be divided up between the two countries.

Agreement was reached on actually dividing the fleet last year, when Ukraine agreed to take over only 164 of the 833 naval vessels—in return for a payment from Russia. But there was no formal agreement; the crux of the matter was the naval bases.

Russia insisted on keeping several naval bases in the Crimea, but the mere thought of Russian bases on Ukrainian territory was unacceptable to Ukrainian nationalists.

"We are close to agreement on an arrangement providing for joint use of Sebastopol, so we hope that we can include the fundamental principles in a declaration which can be signed during Yeltsin's visit," Udovenko said.

Nyeng asked: The fact that Russia has base facilities in a large number of CIS countries and is involved militarily in a long list of conflicts in the Caucasus, Tajikistan, and Moldova—does this give you cause for concern?

"Not really. In Moldova an agreement has already been reached with Russia on the withdrawal of the Russian 14th Army, and in Tajikistan there is a special situation. The government is not able itself to maintain surveillance over the long border with Afghanistan and has asked the Russians for help. Russia has tried to involve Ukraine in conflicts in Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh, for example, and has asked whether we will send peacekeeping troops. We will first send observers, and then it will be up to parliament to decide whether proper peacekeeping forces will be sent."

Nyeng asked: In the past it was a very widespread view in Moscow—stretching high up into the ranks of the government—that Ukraine's independence is not real, and that Ukraine will soon be back in a confederation with Russia again. Has Russia now finally accepted Ukraine's independence?

"Ukraine has been under Russian domination for hundreds of years, so that is why it is necessary for the Russian population to change its mentality. This will take a long time. Even in Ukraine there are forces which want reunification with Russia. The Ukrainian Community Party has just held a congress at which people spoke passionately in support of the reestablishment of the union with Russia. But the Ukrainian people gave clear support to independence in a referendum in 1991. There can be no suggestion of a return to the past."

Udovenko pointed out that one of the most important problems in relations between Russia and Ukraine is Ukraine's great debts to Russia, particularly because of gas supplies which are so important to Ukraine.

At the end of 1994 Ukraine owed $1.5 billion dollars to the Russian Gazprom company which over the last year have several times broken off supplies because of overdue payment. Ukraine owes another major gas supplier, Turkmenistan, $700 million.

"Russia has given us a great deal of credit, and we have reached agreement in principle on an agreement on the restructuring of Ukraine's debt. But our gas and energy consumption underlines that it is necessary for us to modernize our industry. Something that cannot be done without the government's economic reform plan being implemented."

That is why President Kuchma and his government have taken a tough line since coming to power last summer. Prices have been set free, export quotas have been ended, the artificially high exchange rate of the interim Ukrainian currency, "coupons," has been abolished. Last but not least, Kuchma has succeeded in winning parliament's approval of his large-scale privatization plan. According to the plan, a little under 23,000 Ukrainian companies will be transferred to private hands this year. In the longer term between 77,000 and 90,000 companies will be privatized.

The need for reforms in Ukraine is so urgent that even a parliament dominated by communists, socialists, and directors of the biggest companies and collective farms have voted in favor of them. However, parliament did succeed in exempting from privatization around 6,000 so-called strategically important companies in the energy, transport, communications, and defenses industries.

"It is the whole of Ukrainian industry's structure that has to be changed," Udovenko said.

"During the years of the Soviet Union our industry was part of the Soviet economic circle. Some 70 percent of Ukraine's industrial companies were subcontractors. This has created a very strong economic dependence on Russia. Economic independence could lead to the loss of political independence. That is why it is vital for Ukraine that the government's reforms are carried through," Foreign Minister Udovenko said.

## Kuchma Confirms Support for Clinton NPT Proposal

*LD1603191395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1510 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] President Leonid Kuchma has confirmed Ukraine's support of U.S. President Bill Clinton's proposal to extend the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty [NPT]. The Ukrainian president made his remarks at a meeting on 16 March with Simon Hemans, British ambassador to Ukraine .

President Kuchma and Mr. Hemans discussed the international community's support for reforms in Ukraine. The British ambassador said that if the IMF and World Bank granted their assistance, the EU countries, Japan, and the United States would follow suit.

## Kuchma: Dismantling of Warheads 'Ahead of Schedule'

*LD1603195095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The dismantling of nuclear warheads in Ukraine is proceeding ahead of schedule and in 1996 the republic will be nuclear-free, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma said today in an interview for the Japanese NHK broadcasting corporation in the run-up to his first visit to Tokyo. The president said that the future of Chernobyl nuclear electric power station must be decided by negotiations between interested parties, and that Kiev is ready for such negotiations.

Speaking on the purpose of his scheduled 22-25 March visit to Japan, Kuchma made it clear that it boils down to establishing confidence. If the Japanese leadership comes to believe in Ukraine's future, we will have both the political will and the desire of the business circles to be present on the Ukrainian market, the president said.

## OSCE Representatives Hold News Conference

*954F1755C Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Nikolay Bobrovitsa report: "Slawomir Dabrowa: The OSCE Mission Will Aid Stability..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], which was founded in August 1975 in Helsinki, as a permanent conference of the heads of state and of which 52 countries of Europe and America are now members, has established its permanent mission in Crimea. The OSCE Mission in Crimea is headed by the Polish diplomat Slawomir Dabrowa. The mission also includes the Swiss diplomat Dominic Sodan. On 7 March the diplomats held a news conference in Simferopol for journalists.**

Addressing the correspondents, Slawomir Dabrowa, described the mission's mandate and its tasks and aims. He emphasized that the mission would work in the name of the preservation of stability and tranquillity on the peninsula and would aim at helping politicians of Kiev and Simferopol find a common language and mutual understanding. The mission, he stressed, rejects the possibility of the liquidation of Crimean autonomy and advocates economic decentralization, the observance of human rights, democracy, freedom of speech, and the sanctity of borders in Europe. He rejected the unfounded statements made, in particular, by MESHCHANSKAYA GAZETA, which accused the mission of espionage intentions in relation to Crimea and of the participants in the OSCE attempting in this way to realize their interests in the Black Sea. The diplomat emphasized that the mission's form of work would be the organization of a dialogue of the politicians to preserve their interaction in strengthening peace and stability.

Slawomir said that the more they met with politicians of Crimea, the warmer their attitude toward the mission would become. He understands that there are certain political forces on the peninsula which reject the purposes of the OSCE Mission for the reason that this organization operates from the positions of the sanctity of borders, and they aspire to Crimea's annexation to Russia. But, he stressed, the staff of the mission respect their right to express their viewpoint and are prepared to talk with them and to seek the truth together.

Mission staffer Dominic Sodan announced that the OSCE was preparing an international seminar on the problem of Ukrainian-Crimean relations, which is to be held shortly in Switzerland. Seven most influential politicians each of Kiev and Simferopol and also international experts on the matters in dispute will be invited to the seminar.

## Franchuk Meets With OSCE Representatives

*954F1755B Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Government of Crimea Press Office statement: "A. Franchuk's Meeting With OSCE Representatives"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between A. Franchuk, prime minister of Crimea, and representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe—Andreas V. Kohlschuetter, chief of the OSCE mission in Ukraine, Slawomir Dabrowa, deputy chief of the mission, and Dominic Sodan, representative of the mission—and also with Bogdan Lisovich, deputy representative of the United Nations in Ukraine, and other officials was held on 9 March. Matters connected with the opening of OSCE and UN missions in Crimea were discussed in the course of the meeting. Complete mutual understanding of the need for cooperation on both political and economic matters was reached. The OSCE representatives informed the prime minister of a conference—a roundtable—which was being prepared and which would be held in Switzerland at the start of May. The conference will be devoted to problems of Crimea and its relationship with Ukraine. Two blocks of questions are proposed for discussion. The first will be devoted to problems connected with a settlement of the political contradictions between Ukraine and Crimea. The subject of the second is prospects of the republic's economic development, including the organization in Crimea of an off-shore or free economic zone. Andreas V. Kohlschuetter, head of the OSCE mission in Ukraine, invited the prime minister to take part in the conference, which is being organized by the OSCE with the financial support of the Government of Switzerland. The prime minister expressed interest in the discussion of problems connected with the development of Crimea.

## Demidenko on Cooperation With Russia

*954F1755A Simferopol KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Interview with A.F. Demidenko, vice premier of the Government of Crimea, by Yelena Alekseyeva; place and date not given: "We Can Speak of Specific Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Alekseyeva] Last December a Crimean Government delegation headed by Prime Minister A.R. Franchuk and with your participation signed in Moscow a number of important documents concerning the socioeconomic cooperation of Crimea and the Russian Federation. How as of this time are these agreements being fulfilled and what are they really doing for Crimea's national economic complex?

[Demidenko] We are talking about serious long-term agreements, which are not realized overnight but are geared to a lengthy period of interbranch and interregional cooperation. But we can already speak of specific results and of assistance to Crimea on the part of the Russian Federation. At the most difficult time, at the end of January, Russia allocated us an additional 100 megawatts of electric power a day, without prepayment, which enabled us to hold on in the period when Ukraine had sharply reduced energy supplies. We have obtained specific assignments for the loading of our defense industry enterprises, which in their critical state is simply a breath of life. In addition, money for products that had been manufactured to Russian orders earlier has begun to arrive.

Moscow's City Hall has undertaken to render assistance without compensation in the provision of Crimea's police with equipment.

We are currently working off agreements with Irkutsk Oblast for supplies of timber to Crimea and with Tatarstan on supplies of petroleum products, and they are already being received in accordance with the agreements that have been signed.

Unfortunately, Crimea is as yet lagging behind in the fulfillment of its obligations in certain items.

[Alekseyeva] Arkadiy Fedorovich, there has now been a change of leadership in the Supreme Council of Crimea. In the past year we had a sufficiently good look at everyone, and there are generally no guarantees that the reshuffles in parliament will not be followed by the resignation of the present government....

[Demidenko] I do not believe that anyone will now be raising the question of the government's resignation. This would simply be suicidal for Crimea—a new destabilization, a new spiraling of the economic crisis. The present government has been at work for four months. What are the results? It could, of course, be censured for the fact that more merchandise has not appeared in the stores and that general prosperity has not ensued. But the main thing is that we have managed to restore the manageability of Crimea's state-run enterprises. Contracts with the directors have been signed, their fulfillment is being monitored, the decline in production has been halted, and a trend toward an upturn has emerged even. We have managed to keep the economy from conclusive collapse in the winter period. However much abuse we have taken, there have been no serious interruptions in supplies of gas or electric power or supplies of basic necessities this winter. We have coped with the problem of Crimea's water supply. Extra water is being supplied to Alushta. A water main to Yalta is under construction—it has to be handed over, come what may, by the start of the resort season. Not once have we failed to pay pensions or the wages of those in the publicly funded sector.

## Armenian Official Meets Moroz, Comments on Nagorno-Karabakh

*LD1603153895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0950 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Babken Araktsyan, chairman of the Armenian parliament, on 16 March gave Oleksandr Moroz, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council, an official invitation to visit Armenia in the near future as well as to send his observers to the new parliamentary elections that will take place at the beginning of July.

The chairman of the Armenian parliament, who represents the Armenian all-Armenian movement, said that he considered the new elections to the parliament, which will be held in conjunction with a referendum on the text of the new constitution that is currently being discussed, to be the best option. In Babken Araktsyan's view, the Armenian parliament will only discuss it and express its remarks.

At a meeting of the Ukrainian and Armenian parliament delegations, Babken Araktsyan informed those present about the economic situation in Armenia. He said that despite the energy crisis there was certain progress in some sectors of industry. The commissioning of the only nuclear power station in the republic is being planned for this year as the Armenian population is currently receiving electricity for one to two hours per day.

Babken Araktsyan said that the Armenian parliament was preparing to adopt the state budget with a 12-13 percent deficit. Its coordination with the government began in November 1994.

"Azerbaijan and Armenia have recognized that the issue of the status of Nagorno-Karabakh will be discussed once peace is established in this region. However, this process is being dragged out because of unregulated issues on returning refugees, exchanging prisoners, and restoring communications," Babken Araktsyan said.

Assessing the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, Oleksandr Moroz noted that, in his opinion, this conflict "had no prospects" and that was why it was necessary to find "a peace formula" that would satisfy both sides.

Oleksandr Moroz and Babken Araktsyan supported the idea of establishing information links and opening embassies of both countries as soon as possible.

In his speech to Ukrainian deputies, Babken Araktsyan noted that the signing of an agreement on friendship and cooperation between Ukraine and Armenia, which had already been initialled, "would not be long in coming." In his words, "the timetables of various peacekeeping organizations for gradually regulating the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh are similar, but it is necessary to draw up a mechanism for checking on their implementation."

## Assistance for Armenia's Nuclear Industry

*LD1603215595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2009 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev March 16 TASS—Ukrainian atomic physicists will render assistance to Armenia in starting its nuclear power station which was temporarily stopped for several years.

This agreement was reached during today's talks between chairman of the supreme soviet of Armenia, Babken Ararktsyan, and acting head of the Ukrainian Government, Yevhen Marchuk.

Ukraine has many sufficiently qualified specialists who are capable of rendering assistance to Armenia not only in the restoration work on starting the atomic power plant but also in training personnel, Yevhen Marchuk said at a meeting with journalists here today.

During the talks the two sides reached an agreement on the further development of Armenian-Ukrainian relations, first of all, in high-tech branches.

With that end in view, it is planned to establish an inter-government commission which would exercise control over the implementation of the signed agreements, the acting head of the Ukrainian Government pointed out.

## Consortium Presents Chernobyl Sarcophagus Plan

*LD1603235495 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1850 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—A three-day presentation of the first stage of the feasibility study of the projects for turning the "Cover" facility into an ecologically safe system has come to an end on 16 March.

The international consortium "Alliance," which is doing this work under a contract with the European Union, submitted six alternative methods of building "Cover-2" for the consideration of Ukrainian specialists. According to conclusions made by the "Alliance," the deterioration of the structures of the current "sarcophagus" and the adjacent buildings does not allow for extending its service life up to 100 years, as demanded by the task set for the feasibility study. Ukrainian experts pointed out that in order to achieve tightness of the new cover, some of the methods envisage that the third generating set of the Chernobyl nuclear power station be stopped. They also pointed to other shortcomings of the alternative methods submitted by the "Alliance," in particular to the fact that protection of subterranean waters was not worked out sufficiently properly. The criteria for the assessment of the alternative methods do not take into account the formation of radioactive waste during the preparation for the construction work, etc.

After the presentation, the "Alliance" on the one side, and the Ministry for the Protection of the Population from the Aftermath of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station Accident and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine on the other side, signed a protocol, according to which the "Alliance" consortium should take into account remarks and proposals by Ukrainian experts and submit the results of the second stage of work after it is completed.

Valentyn Kupnyy, the chief of the "Cover" facility, said in an interview with UNIAN that foreign specialists paid little attention to the possibilities of strengthening the existing "sarcophagus" for a long term. He also admits that after the feasibility study is completed, Ukraine may refrain from building a second cover, especially after the overall cost of the project is finally calculated.

## Agreement on Industry Signed With Moldova

*LD1603210595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1751 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Mar 16 (INTERFAX - UKRAINE) - The industry ministries of Ukraine and Moldova signed cooperation agreements for 1995 in Kiev Wednesday [15 March].

The agreements crowned the talks held in Kiev by a Moldovan delegation led by the Industry Minister Grigore Triboi.

Interfax - Ukraine was told by the Ukrainian Industry Ministry Thursday that in 1994 the agreements on mutual deliveries were carried out only 25%.

The Ukrainian Deputy Industry Minister Valentin Kulichenko said at the ceremony that the agreements supplement earlier intergovernmental documents. Moldovan industrial facilities expect to receive from Ukraine 10,000 tons of pig iron, 15,000 tons of rolled metal, 7000 tons of carbomide, 3500 tons of tyres and other goods. In return Ukraine will get unique equipment for coke plants.

The agreements say ministries will promote ties between companies whether they are private or public and stimulate the formation of joint ventures.

## International Aid Program Grants 52 Million Ecu

*LD1603220295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, Mar 16 (Interfax-Ukraine)—Ukraine will receive 52 million ECU as financial grants within the scope of the TACIS [expansion unknown] international aid program in 1995, representative of the EU Commission in Ukraine Luis Moreno told a press conference in Kiev today.

He said Ukraine had received aid worth more than 250 million ECU since 1991 during the period of existence of the TACIS program.

Coordinator of the TACIS for Ukraine program Georgio Bonacci told journalists that he had introduced the draft program for 1995 to Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pinzenik.

Bonacci said the TACIS for Ukraine program for 1995 provided for supporting business activities, developing the energy system, agriculture and education in the country.

## National Affairs

### Marchuk Notes 'Temporary' Role

*WS1603114995 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0059 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[Interview with acting Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk by Volodymyr Katzman; place and date not given: "Acting Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk: 'My Position Is Temporary'"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] [INTELNEWS] You are the second highest-ranking official after the President. What will be your first steps in office?

[Marchuk] It should be mentioned that my position in the office is temporary. I will leave the office as soon as a new prime minister is appointed.

The guidelines are declared. President Leonid Kuchma outlined these guidelines and we should work on their implementation. Today, different ways of implementation are being offered.

Although there are many state properties in various spheres of activity, management of the state economy remains weak. I am against the restoration or creation of the former command-administrative structures. I am also against radical measures in the economy, whatever they are, and in politics. But sometimes, I assume, they may be introduced as temporary measures and may bring a considerably positive effect. And today we should not escape the reality—that management in the state-run sector is weak, so we need to work out efficient mechanisms to manage the economy properly. That is why I insist on introducing an emergency situation for managing staff so they can strengthen control over the state economy.

The second problem is that the Cabinet of Ministers has to change its structure. In other words, it needs to find its exact place in the hierarchy of the executive body. There are a lot of anachronistic features in the government. The government is a very bulky and ineffective structure which tends to be stalled. I think that the each minister should be in charge of his sphere, while today this role is performed by one of the nine deputy prime ministers. It is high time to establish ministries that will be able to work efficiently. The structure of the Cabinet of Ministers should be changed as well.

[INTELNEWS] Should we expect some staff changes along with the structural changes in the government?

[Marchuk] Such changes may come quite soon, but they will not depend on me. There is a great probability that, after the Cabinet of Ministers has reported in Parliament, and, if its work is recognized as unsatisfactory, the whole government will be dismissed.

[INTELNEWS] How should the executive branch of Ukraine's government be structured?

[Marchuk] I think the structure of the executive must be a unified system. In fact, we have two service departments, duplicating one another. One in the Cabinet of Ministers and the other in presidential administration, though I do not feel the efficiency has risen much. Therefore, we need to create a single body to provide services (economic and legal) for the government with the president at the head as the top executive official. We do not need duplicative mechanisms.

[INTELNEWS] What is your attitude toward the new constitution and Power Bill?

[Marchuk] Having explored to the full the realities of the executive body, I am convinced the relations between the power branches will be regulated through the adoption of a new constitution. The legal hierarchy has a one way solution—first, we should adopt the constitution and then other laws. But today, this is impossible or next to impossible. Therefore, we should adopt the Power Bill proposed by the President. Another problem is a mechanism of adoption of the new constitution, which is still undetermined. The process of adoption through referendum may take years. Thus, I think, it would be expedient if Parliament could adopt it. Unfortunately, the current Parliament could hardly do so.

[INTELNEWS] Could you comment on the Russian mass media information that President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Ukraine will be postponed because the Russian side wants to revisit the provisions of the treaty Kiev initialed?

[Marchuk] We do not have official information about it. We, together with corresponding Russian structures, are preparing for the visit. Moreover, soon we will hold a joint meeting with Russian negotiators to prepare all the documents. The visit is scheduled for late March. Indeed, the Russian mass media raises questions about dual citizenship and about the initialed provision on territorial integrity. But, I repeat, we do not have official information.

Though, I do not exclude the Russian mass media has some reason to say so. Moreover, a political interpretation in such cases is a usual thing and can be simply explained—the solution of interstate problems of such countries as Russia and Ukraine, countries with complex histories, evoke many interpretations.

### Cabinet Approves 'Controlled' Special Resources

*LD1603191995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1835 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Mar 16 (INTERFAX-UKRAINE)—The cabinet has approved a list of special resources the production and consumption of which will be controlled by the government in 1995.

Appropriate ministries will control the production and consumption of precious metals and stones, uranium concentrate, instruments and equipment employing radioactive substances and isotopes, spirits, grain and drugs. The cabinet should control the production and consumption of arms, ammunition, military hardware and spares as well as explosives and their wastes.

The list can be revised by the Economy Ministry with the consent of the cabinet.

### Ministry Announces Firearms Surrender Campaign

*AU1603122395 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 14 Mar 95 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Weapons May Be Surrendered Voluntarily"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs already organized such a measure at the end of last year. The population handed over about 3,400 firearms, including 138 guns of the type used in the army and almost 3,230 sporting shotguns. This year, almost 400 various types of firearms have already been confiscated. They had been held illegally, and 50 percent of them are home-made. However, the all-knowing statistics suggests that many weapons are still illegally held by the population. It is precisely these that get into the hands of criminals. For that reason, Ukraine's Ministry of Internal Affairs decided to hold a month-long campaign for voluntarily surrendering (to town or rayon internal affairs departments) and registering firearms. This measure will continue until 1 April 1995.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs hopes to find support and understanding, because this is being done to establish calm, peace, and harmony in our state. Besides, the voluntary surrender of firearms, ammunition, and explosives that were held without corresponding licenses, will absolve the people from criminal responsibility (illegal storage—Article 222 of Ukraine's Criminal Code: Seven years imprisonment).

Thus, if you have handed over or registered your gun, recommend others to do the same!

### Minister Wants Curfew in Kiev, Other Cities

*LD1603102795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1830 GMT 15 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev [no date as received]—Foreign Minister Volodymyr Radchenko considers it expedient to introduce a state of emergency in a "succinct form" in Donetsk, Lugansk, and Odessa oblasts, in Crimea and in the cities of Kiev and Lvov in order to stabilize the crime situation in these regions which has become very aggravated. He said this at a news conference today.

In an interview to UNIAN Volodymyr Radchenko said he favors introducing a curfew in Kiev, Donetsk, and Simferopol.

### Barter Deal To Settle Gas Debt Rejected

*WS1703112095 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 0001 GMT 17 Mar 95*

["Special to INTELNEWS" by Viktor Zubaniuk]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, March 16—The head of Ukraine's State Property Fund ruled out any possible barter arrangement allowing Russia's GazProm to receive shares in Ukrainian enterprises to settle the huge energy debt owed by the country.

Although the Russian firm, which recently named 15 Ukrainian businesses in which it would like to invest, is legally allowed to invest in Ukrainian enterprises, State Property Fund Chairman Yuriy Yekhanurov said Thursday [16 March] that he was firmly opposed to any outright swap of debt for equity.

"There is nothing dangerous in the fact that some part of Ukrainian enterprises' shares may be sold to Russian economic structures. Our laws allow the sale of blocs of shares to foreign investors," he told INTELNEWS.

"As State Property Fund Chairman, I would like to officially declare that I will not give these shares to anyone to settle the debt," he added.

According to sources in the State Property Fund, the Fund may suggest an alternative according to which GazProm will be allowed to take part in privatization tenders at which it could buy shares of Ukrainian enterprises either for Russian rubles or for hard currency, which is allowed under Ukrainian law.

After this, the money gained from the sales of shares could be used by the Ukrainian government to repay its gas debt to Russia.

### Rallies Organized To Mark USSR Referendum

*LD1703115595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1009 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Gordeyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kharkov March 17 TASS—Meetings and rallies, devoted to the fourth anniversary of the 1991 all-Union referendum, during which the majority of Ukraine's population had voted for the perpetuation of the Soviet Union, are being held today practically in all the major towns and cities of Ukraine's south-eastern regions.

Not only left-wing parties and movements (communists, socialists, and agrarians), but also the so far centrist public organisations (the Ukrainian Civic Congress, the Ukrainian Slavic Unity Party, etc.) were among the initiators of today's meetings in Kharkov, Lugansk, Donetsk, and other cities of this industrial region, which have suffered most from Ukraine's independence.

But the main function, timed for the anniversary of the referendum, ignored by the Belovezhskaya agreement which broke up the Union, is probably the council of public and political forces "For an equitable union of soviet peoples," which opened in Kharkov today. The "Kharkov Rada" (the initiators of the forum chose this name to accentuate its analogy with the Pereyaslavskaya Rada [council], which sealed Ukraine's union with Russia in 1654) is being attended by delegates from practically all the south-eastern regions and from the Crimean autonomous republic, by several members of the Ukrainian parliament and of local representative bodies. The Kharkov Rada plans not only to discuss again the republic's difficult situation, caused by its self-isolation from the other countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It is to draw up a plan for concrete actions which, the organisers of the forum hope, will prod the government to accelerate the restoration not only of economic, but also political, military, and humanitarian (including congeneric) relations between Ukraine and the other countries of the Commonwealth.

## Christian Democrat, Communist Leader on Power

*WS1603130095 Kiev KYYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 10 Mar 95 p 1*

[Interview with Vasyl Kostytskyy, member of the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine, corresponding member of the Academy of the Science of Law, and Ukraine's Esteemed Lawyer; and Petro Symonenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee and Supreme Council deputy; by O. Karpenko, correspondent of the Kaharlytskyy Broadcasting Association and Oblast Council deputy; place and date not given: "To Whom Should Power Belong in Ukraine, and What Power?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kostytskyy] Power in Ukraine should belong to the people, because this suits the contemporary level of our social development, the theory of law, and the state. In general, in every civilized state, power is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial branches, and conforms with the principle of interaction and balance. With the help of legislation, one must create a counterbalance preventing the usurpation of power by one of its branch or the interference of one branch with matters of other branches.

[Karpenko] **To what extent do your requirements conform with the presidential law on power?**

[Kostytskyy] Along with my colleagues from the Christian Democratic Party of Ukraine [KhDPU], I have prepared a draft of the new constitution, which, in particular, creates a model for building a presidential republic in Ukraine. Regarding the law on power, its adoption was discussed at a meeting of the president with the KhDPU leadership, which I also attended. We support the idea of this law—on the one hand, to secure the vertical structure of power and, on the other, to create a legal footing for reforms and to prevent the appearance of any decentralizing forces in Ukraine. Regarding the legal side of this document, it needs some revision.

[Karpenko] **Could you tell us briefly about your model?**

[Kostytskyy] A two-chamber parliament with a senate based on the principle of equal representation from every land (current oblast), with approximately three representatives from each. The national assembly also consists of a house of deputies numbering 300; 150 of them would be elected according to a majority-type representation, as now, while the other 150 would be elected according to a party representation. This is very important, since in this way the political structure of our society would be crystallized and, obviously, several strong parties would be formed. Three seats would be reserved for representatives of the Crimean Tatar people. These are the only people entitled to have an autonomy. The powers of each chamber are clearly delineated. The Ukrainian president, who is elected by universal direct elections, is not only the head of state, but also the head of the executive branch. The second in rank official is the vice president. At the same time, the vice president is the head of the senate and chairs sessions of the national assembly in turns with the head of the house of deputies. Our draft does not provide for the cabinet of ministers in the form it exists today. The president nominates only the prime minister; there are no deputy prime ministers. Thus, the president is also the head of the cabinet of ministers and issues appropriate legal acts. The official with the title of prime minister serves as the coordinator.

The position of the prosecutor's office provisioned by our draft is also an innovation. Today, the prosecutor's office is a strong body and, to some extent, plays the role of a separate branch of power. In our model, the prosecutor's office is subject to the president. This is very important, since the prosecutor's office should act in the name of the state and defend its interests. The functions of general overseeing will be imposed on a number of state inspections as well as controlling and supervisory bodies. In this way, we prevent duplication. How can the vertical structure of power be preserved, while having elements of a decentralized state? Each of the lands should have its small council of deputies and a governor chosen by universal direct elections. Given this circumstance, the vertical structure of power may be preserved by the creation of an institution of prefects [prefekty]. At our meeting with the president, we proposed creating the institution of prefects right now. Prefects are those nominated by the presidents for oblasts and, possibly, large cities. They by no means interfere with the economic activities of an oblast or a city. Their functions do not intersect with those of governors. The task of prefects is to coordinate activities of law enforcement bodies which should be transferred from the subordination to local authorities.

We leave small councils at the rayon level. In towns and villages, the leaders of local self-government, called chiefs [starosty] or heads [holovy], are chosen by universal direct elections. A rayon council should consist of seven to 15 members [radnyky]. Why a council? Over the last 70 years, we have developed a tradition based on the system of councils [radyanska vlada]. In our model, however, the councils are charged with somewhat different tasks than before. Their primary task is to approve their budgets and oversee the realization of budgetary provisions, as well as to draft plans for local development. And that is all. The head of a council will actually be its coordinator or its speaker, not its leader in the current sense. Economic activity will fall under the administration headed by a governor or a chief. In this way, a clear division of powers is outlined, with every branch having its own functions not interfering with each other. However, for the sake of balance between the branches of power, a mechanism was created for enabling a council to express its distrust to the governor, and making possible for a prefect to raise the question of dissolving a council.

[Karpenko] **On which country's constitution did you model your own?**

[Kostytskyy] In the preamble of our constitution, we refer to the constitution of Pylyp Orlyk of 1710. This is of political importance, and it stresses that Ukraine had had its own constitutional traditions long before other states adopted their constitutions. We also used the constitutions of Germany, Italy, France, the United States, and Turkey. However, in essence, our model is halfway between the constitutional models of the United States and France.

[Karpenko] **What is the president's attitude toward your draft constitution?**

[Kostytskyy] At his meeting with the press in Zhytomyr, Leonid Kuchma stated that this is the best draft of all existing drafts to date.

[Symonenko] I am deeply convinced that the power in Ukraine should belong to representative bodies. I have in mind the entire vertical structure from the Supreme Council to rural councils of people's deputies. By breaking the existing system and creating a parallel structure of power, we will only deepen and prolong the economic crisis. While examining the presidential draft law on power, one should consider some of its aspects. First, one cannot speak only about strengthening the executive branch; it is necessary to examine the issues of strengthening all the branches of power. Second, the first problem must be examined to the effect of strengthening discipline in the executive structures. Lack of discipline is one of the main reasons behind the non-implementation of many laws and numerous projects. Third, measures for strengthening the executive branch should be adopted according to the legislation in force. The current Constitution does not provide for such a norm as a constitutional law.

Let us continue. This draft law deprives representative structures—oblast, rayon, city, and rural councils—of their powers. However, the European Charter of Local Self-Government stipulates that local representative bodies create their own executive committees. In contradiction to this, it is proposed that the heads of administration will be appointed according to someone's will "at the top."

Now regarding the expediency of reorganizing the power system. If one carries out this reorganization in a crisis situation, this will only result in a paralysis of the administration system.

One more serious problem. The system for preparing cadres has today been upset in Ukraine. This system does not exist at all. Then, a question arises: Who, to where and in which way, should be appointed in the event of dismissing, for example, heads of lower-level councils? Where may one find highly skilled and experienced leaders in case of need?

While positively assessing the thesis about strengthening the executive power in general, one should do everything not to repeat the past negative experience, when the power was concentrated in one pair of hands. I see the draft law on power as a desire on the part of certain forces to create a system [of power] for one specific person. Thus, the draft law on power, which was proposed by the president, is meant for the socioeconomic policy inaugurated by L. Kravchuk. This policy intends to immediately distribute the property to meet IMF requirements. It will have sorrowful consequences, too. This is why we insist, on principle, that all issues connected with power be examined jointly. This conforms with common sense and democratic principles and, finally, this is a guarantee that we will become a civilized state.

[Karpenko] **A Union of Nations, which is being promoted by the Communist Party today, and the USSR—are they the same things?**

[Symonenko] In a legal sense, we had a Union of Nations before, too. It is another matter that this creation has been deformed. The power, as is known, was concentrated in Moscow. One has to take an objective look as to whether this had positive or negative consequences for different regions.

In general, the problem of a Union [of Nations] must be examined with many factors taken into account. In particular, one has to keep in mind that the separation between the former entities of the federation has already been accomplished. There are borders, custom houses, and the like. However, the most important issue is the nations' desire to actually live in an equal union. This is why the Central Committee of the Communist Party has adopted a resolution to organize studies on the Ukrainian people's attitude toward the idea of unification. We support this idea, while taking into account the problems faced by Ukraine. We believe that the crisis may be overcome only in a fraternal union of nations. This is why we assert: Yes, this is the future, the progressive path for Ukraine's development.

[Karpenko] **Anyway, what is the Union of Nations—a state or some new creation?**

[Symonenko] This depends on what desire will be voiced by nations. Regarding those criticizing us, I would like to remind them of Lenin. According to his concept, the USSR had to consist of independent states that voluntarily delegate some of their functions to the center. This means transportation, defense, foreign policy, and foreign economic activity. Which functions will be performed by the central body? One needs advice here. Maybe, it will be a coordinating body or, maybe, one that works out common legislation or adjusts laws through consultations. Or, maybe, it will work out policies to resolve existing problems.

## Nuclear Committee Chairman Briefs on 1994 Performance

*WS1603134295 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 14 Mar 95 p 2*

[Report by Larysa Datsyuk: "The Branch Is Alive!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Our branch is alive, Derzhkomatom [State Nuclear Committee] Chairman Mykhaylo Umanets stated at a news conference summing up the results of our nuclear power engineering industry in 1994. He stated, however, that it has never been as harassed as now, and that its prospects are not promising.**

The most critical situation has developed in the area of credits and finances. The underestimated tariffs for electric power has resulted in a deficit amounting to 10-12 trillion karbovantsi [K]. Regular nonpayments make it impossible to cover the expenditures of the branch. There is hardly enough money to pay the personnel and cover operating costs. Consumers owe Derzhkomatom over K7.5 trillion. Debts of the nuclear department itself are also amounting to trillions of karbovantsi. As a result, the branch is on the verge of bankruptcy and technical incapacity. The spring-summer season of repair work is endangered. There are neither spare parts nor nuclear fuel to conduct repairs. Programs for improving the safety of power units are virtually no longer financed.

Despite all the impediments, however, nuclear power plants produced 34.2 percent of our country's electric power last year. Five nuclear power plants were involved in this process, with 14 power units totaling a capacity of 12.8 million kilowatts operating.

A plan for electric power production, which was presented to the nuclear department, envisioned 65.9 billion kilowatts annually. Actually, as much as 68.8 billion kilowatts, or 104.4 percent, was produced last year. It should be noted, however, that this was a modified plan. Due to lack of money to conduct repair work and purchase nuclear fuel, the plan had to be trimmed. The reduction amounted to 17.5 billion kilowatts in 1994, which was much less than the corresponding 1993 figure.

The reasons behind the general decline in electric power production are connected with the economic crisis in our state, stoppages of many production companies, and deficit of oil and gas, which, however, does not prevent the thermal power engineering industry from operating normally.

The following statistic is not radiant either: In 1994, there were 133 accidents, 30 of which led to stoppages of power units. And although the number of accidents was 20 percent lower than the previous year's figure, it is not cheerful either, since this means that there were almost 10 accidents per one power unit. However, according to the international scale of accidents affecting nuclear and radiation safety, 112 accidents were of zero level, and as few as 21—at the first level. There were no accidents of the second or third levels at Ukrainian nuclear power plants.

The personnel problem is also very acute. Due to low wages, 8,500 specialists have moved to work in Russia over the last two years. We have actually become a free training center for this neighboring state.

The leadership of Derzhkomatom sees several ways of stabilizing the situation in the national nuclear power engineering industry. This primarily relates to financial provisions. Mykhaylo Umanets said that between $120 million and $140 million may prevent the collapse of our nuclear power engineering.

Even more money, namely $1.2 billion, is needed to carry out a program for introducing our own cycle to produce nuclear fuel. Scientifically and technically, Ukraine is able to conduct such a program. Given our efficient supply of domestic raw materials and superb technologies for extracting and reprocessing uranium, zirconium, and rare earth metals, a program for the production of nuclear fuel could be carried out within five to seven years, and we could obtain a world-level product. As for expenditures, they can only be estimated by comparison. Currently, being fully dependent on deliveries of nuclear fuel from Russia, Ukraine spends $300 million on purchases of low quality fuel.

A flawless legislative basis would also help us restore the nuclear power engineering industry. The Law "On Utilization of Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Safety" has not yet been passed in Ukraine. Also lacking is legislation defining liability for damage caused by nuclear accidents. This has been hampering cooperation between Derzhkomatom and its foreign partners. Implementation of a number of programs for assistance to Ukraine's nuclear power engineering, which involve hundreds of millions of dollars, has not moved forward.

Additionally, talks with Western companies on the construction of power units at the Rivne, Zaporizhzhya, and Khmelnytskyy nuclear power plants, as well as on the construction of the "Shelter-2" facility to house the ruined fourth power unit at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, have been proceeding very slowly.

Our cooperation with IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] is being built on a business-like basis guided by principle. Derzhkomatom cannot find a common language with this international organization only if it resorts to politics, Mykhaylo Umanets stated. The European community has also slackened its position on talks with Ukraine, and it no longer makes its assistance conditional on the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

Moreover, it seems that nobody is going to close the plant. While it is impossible to do that for both technical and economic reasons, it is at least incorrect to speak about the future operation of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

## Crimean Leaders Say Violence Politically Motivated

*AU1603104495 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 14 Mar 95 pp 1, 4*

[Report by Oleksandr Pilat from the Crimea: "An Extraordinary Political Situation in the Crimea"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In view of the difficult political situation in the region the autonomy's government worked last weekend [11-12 March] and even held two news conferences. On Saturday [11 March], Andriy Senchenko, vice premier of the government, told journalists that autonomy President Yuriy Meshkov had signed a number of edicts that obstruct the government's work. In particular, he canceled the government's decision to auction unfinished construction facilities (such as a supermarket in Yalta and a canteen in Yevpatoriya). It was pointed out that the state has no funds to continue building these minor facilities.

Autonomy Justice Minister Lyubov Yelisyeyeva-Bora stated that both this and other edicts recently issued by Meshkov are at variance with Ukraine's and the autonomy's legislation. A. Senchenko stressed: "This is a part of the all-out offensive that the Crimean president and Supreme Council are waging against the government of the peninsula in order to compel it to resign."

Head of the autonomy's government Anatoliy Franchuk told journalists at the news conference about the spate of phone calls threatening him and calling for his resignation. Moreover, as Franchuk pointed out, the calls had been through a high-frequency channel, which is only accessible to a few persons on the peninsula. Franchuk had to appeal to the leadership of the main administrations of Ukraine's Interior Ministry and Security Service in the Crimea with a request to launch an investigation.

Meanwhile rumors spread on the peninsula that the "Moscow" government of Yevgeniy Saburov may return here. Saburov was once invited to the Crimea by Meshkov, but later, due to the differences between the president and the Supreme Council of the autonomy, had to resign at the parliament's decision. Now, that the Crimean president and chairman of the Supreme Council Serhiy Tsekov have reached an understanding, the return of the Saburov government has become plausible.

On Sunday [12 March], an urgent news conference was convened by Arkadiy Demydenko, vice premier of the autonomy's government and head of the Coordination Committee for Combating Organized Crime. He said that early on Sunday morning, there had been a strong explosion near the door of his apartment. Demydenko went to the balcony and saw a crowd of people running out of the building. Then, he opened the door of his apartment: A person aged between 27 and 30 with hands blown off and a severely injured abdominal cavity lay on the landing. The dead hands were clasping parts of an explosive device. Law enforcement officers suggest that the device could have been radio-controlled and that the explosion might also have occurred as a result of incompetent handling of the device. The unknown man's briefcase contained a towel. He was probably a sportsman returning from training. The criminal's identity has not yet been established.

Demydenko is convinced that it was a political action, aimed against Anatoliy Franchuk's team, which has succeeded in stabilizing the economic situation in the Crimea and renewing control over the state sector of the economy.

Observers believe that Ukraine's president and Supreme Council must take urgent measures, to the extent of abolishing the post of president of the autonomy and even returning the status of oblast to the Crimea. They believe that the government of the autonomy should be subordinated directly to the Ukrainian president through his representatives on the peninsula.

## Demidenko: Meshkov Behind Assassination Attempt

*MK1603143095 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 16 Mar 95 p 15*

[Report by Aelita Kochetkova: "An Official Says the Crimea President Is Implicated in an Assassination Attempt"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday Arkadiy Demidenko, vice premier of the Crimea Government, commented on an attempt on his life which took place 12 March.

Sunday, at 0005, a bomb exploded in Simferopol at the door of the apartment (8 Zheleznodorozhnaya Street) of Arkadiy Demidenko, vice premier of the Crimea Republic Government. Arkadiy Demidenko and his two children were at home at the time. None of them was hurt. The body of an unidentified person was found on the staircase. According to one version, this was the terrorist who was killed when he tried to plant the explosive device.

Arkadiy Demidenko believes that Crimea President Yuriy Meshkov is behind the attempt: The vice premier regards it as "reaction by President Yuriy Meshkov and his structures to sharp criticism from outside." There has been no official reaction by presidential structures to the assassination attempt.

As is known, Vice Premier Demidenko has never had any affection for Yuriy Meshkov. During the 1994 presidential elections Demidenko was an active supporter of Nikolay Bagrov, criticizing Yuriy Meshkov's and the Rossiya bloc's slogans as populist.

Later Anatoliy Franchuck, minister of state enterprises in the Yevgeniy Saburov government, invited Demidenko to be his deputy. Demidenko stayed in that post exactly two weeks, after which was removed under Yuriy Meshkov's edict. Franchuk promised to reinstate his deputy by any means, including by appealing to Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk. Franchuk kept his promise but with a new president of Ukraine: Leonid Kuchma. After becoming prime minister of Crimea, Franchuk nominated Demidenko to the post of vice premier. The parliament approved him.

Arkadiy Demidenko said that he fears further intrigue on the part of Meshkov and therefore intends to take care and ensure his own security and the security of his family members.

## Decrees Appoint Crimean Supreme Council Officers

*954F1756A Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Decrees of the Supreme Council of Crimea]

[FBIS Translated Text]

### On the Chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea

In accordance with Article 113 of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea, the Supreme Council of Crimea decrees:

the election as chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea of Sergey Pavlovich Tsekov.

[Signed] V. Klychnikov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

City of Simferopol, 9 March 1995, No 363-1.

### On the Early Release of V.P. Mezhak From the Office of Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea and His Duties as Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea

On the basis of Article 113 of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea the Supreme Council of Crimea decrees:

the early release of Viktor Petrovich Mezhak from the office of deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea and his duties as member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

[Signed] S. Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

City of Simferopol, 1 March 1995, No 346-1.

### On the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea

In accordance with Article 113 of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea the Supreme Council of Crimea decrees:

the election as deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea of Aleksandr Ivanovich Frolov.

[Signed] S. Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

City of Simferopol, 9 March 1995, No 365-1.

### On the Early Release of A.A. Melnikov From the Office of Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea and His Duties as Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea

On the basis of Article 113 of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea the Supreme Council of Crimea decrees:

the early release of Aleksey Aleksandrovich Melnikov from the office of deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea and his duties as member of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

[Signed] S. Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

City of Simferopol, 1 March 1995, No 347-1.

### On the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea

In accordance with Article 113 of the Constitution of the Republic of Crimea the Supreme Council of Crimea decrees:

the election as deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea of Vladimir Nikolayevich Klychnikov.

[Signed] S. Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea.

City of Simferopol, 9 March 1995, No 354-1.

## Crimean Supreme Council Forms New Presidium

*954F1756B Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Supreme Council of Crimea Press Center report]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the evening plenary meeting of the Supreme Council of Crimea on 9 March the deputies embarked after a break for consultations in the factions on the formation of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea. L. Arifov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Credentials, Deputies' Ethics, and the Organization of Business, M. Bystrov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Health Care and Fitness Center-Resort Treatment, V. Zhukov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for the News Media and Relations With the Public, Yu. Zyryanov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Local Government and the State System, Yu. Podkopayev was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Education, Science, Culture, Youth Affairs, and Sport, G. Reshetnikov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Social Issues, R. Chubarov was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Nationality Policy and Problems of Deported Citizens, and V. Shpilkin was elected chairman of the Standing Commission for Economic and Budget-Finance Policy.

At the morning meeting on 10 March V. Klychnikov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, informed the deputies that as a result of the consultations of the faction leaders with S. Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, it had been decided to continue the formation of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Crimea at the next plenary meeting.

The Supreme Council of Crimea then embarked on consideration of the draft law "On Revisions to the Law of the Republic of Crimea 'On Elections of Deputies and Chairmen of Village, Township, and City Rayon Councils.'" Reports on this matter were delivered by Yu. Zyryanov, chairman of the Standing Commission of the Supreme Council of Crimea for Local Government and the State System, and Deputy A. Gritsenko. Following a clause-by-clause discussion, the Law on Revisions to the Law on Elections of Local Councils was adopted.

The next plenary meeting of the Supreme Council of Crimea will be held on 15 March 1995.

## Tsekov on Resolution of Political Crisis

*954F1757A Simferopol KRYMSKIYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 95 p 1*

[Interview with Sergey Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, by L. Chevelcha; place and date not given: "Old Roots, New Fruit?..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The past week in parliament kept everyone in a state of tension: Parliament and the press and the electorate that is not yet indifferent to the fate of the supreme authority in our republic. But it would seem that all the proposals connected with the crisis situation in the Supreme Council are now a thing of the past. With what results did the deputies and, ultimately, all of us emerge from this protracted tailspin?**

**We asked the No. 1 in the corps of deputies, Sergey Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea, to sum up and evaluate the new "state" of parliament.**

[Chevelcha] How do you evaluate the week's results?

[Tsekov] The crisis that we had had for the past three months was resolved this week. The most important thing is that a Presidium was formed, 11 persons were elected to it, and the Presidium is capable of efficient work. I believe that this point will, on the whole, exert a stabilizing influence not only on the Supreme Council but on Crimea also.

There was also this week a rapprochement of the factions that had once constituted the Russia bloc and that had subsequently gone their separate ways and fragmented into three factions—Russia, Russia-Unity, and Republic. This rapprochement is gratifying. And not only for the members of these factions but for their opponents also. Why? Because everyone should, in my opinion, take a dim view of the aspects of confrontation. Both those that have a majority of votes and those that are in the opposition. For if there is some particular force in society, force in parliament, it should assume responsibility for what is happening in the republic. Otherwise collective irresponsibility results. The scenario of the merger and rapprochement of the three factions will, I hope, become the force that assumes, for all that, the responsibility for what is happening in Crimea. I regard this with satisfaction.

What may be mentioned in addition? The gap that had existed between the Supreme Council and the president of the Republic of Crimea was eliminated. People may view this rapprochement variously, but I regard it as positive. We achieved big successes when it came to demolition, and I believe that a period of creation and an understanding that we cannot continually be having showdowns and need to learn to understand each other is coming. To forgive each other's mistakes also, perhaps. To work together for one idea, to work together for the sake of one goal. And this goal is the well-being of the republic, the well-being of its people.

The surmounting of the crisis in the Supreme Council of Crimea will contribute to a settlement and improvement of our relations with Ukraine. Showdowns in the Supreme Council are clearly to the benefit of radical circles in Ukraine, who say that there is no need to sort things out with the Republic of Crimea, everything will collapse there of its own accord. In the state of crisis we were, truly, unable to deal seriously with questions of our independence and further development. What has been happening here, in the Supreme Council, has had a very bad effect on relations with the Russian Federation also. Again, a settlement of this internal conflict will contribute to a strengthening of these ties.

[Chevelcha] The program of the Russia bloc remains a fundamental program?

[Tsekov] Yes. The program does not change, it is what we brought to the Supreme Council with us. Of course, reality has made certain adjustments to this program. No doubt about it. There have been disagreements when it has come to realizing it. But by and large, neither Russia nor Russia-Unity nor Republic has deviated from this program. And many other deputies, independent, have with the rare exception supported the program of the Russia bloc. I would like to emphasize once again that this program does not mean some quarrel with Ukraine or an unequivocal orientation toward Russia; the program makes it possible to strengthen ties between these two states. If we are speaking of the members of the Republican Party, those who came from the Republican Movement, and, probably, the people of Crimea as a whole, we are constantly apprehensive about causing a quarrel between Ukraine and Russia. We want to be with both. It is time to put an end to these showdowns with each other. We see that there are disagreements between Ukraine and Russia and that they periodically erupt in the news media. But it is ultimately time to find a common language. This is in the interests of both states. And Crimea would like to contribute to this.

The program declares the restoration of unity with Russia. This is a complex process. But if we decide, for example, the question of preferential tuition for Crimeans in Russia, this is the way toward unity. Questions of the cultural sphere and economic and social ties—this also means the restoration of unity.

The main goal, of course, is the restoration of political unity, but it should in this case occur with the necessary inclusion of Ukraine in this process also. This needs to be understood as well.

[Chevelcha] Is our president's orientation toward "Kuchma's reforms" generally evaluated positively?

[Tsekov] There is no unequivocal attitude toward the reforms that the president of Ukraine is proposing. I regard this as positive. The president and I will have no big disagreements. But some people from the Russia bloc do not, for all that, entirely agree with what Kuchma is proposing, with the accelerated privatization particularly. Not because they object to privatization as such. But because this acceleration is simply hardly possible. The edict of the president of Ukraine was issued approximately three months ago, but all this is still at the level of talk as yet. There has been no realization of this edict.

[Chevelcha] Is it possible in principle to tackle the tasks of convergence with Russia on the quiet while remaining in Ukraine's legal field?

[Tsekov] Yes. Revolutionary methods are unacceptable here, they are called revolutionary because they are accompanied by serious conflicts in society. The evolutionary path is what is most correct under the present conditions. About 70 years ago we endeavored to decide everything rapidly, immediately. Some states formed following the disintegration of the USSR have acted the same. But experience shows that this is completely hopeless. Following a period of conflict, a time when people start to think about how to build mutual relations comes, all the same. Generally, people arrive at what was proposed initially. Neither side achieves any more by way of conflict.

[Chevelcha] You met recently with representatives of the OSCE mission. Is some work with this mission planned?

[Tsekov] There was a period here of scrutiny of what it would, in fact, do here and the kind of conclusions it would draw. The most important thing for them was to track the situation and make recommendations for a way out of this situation. Erroneous statements were made on the part of certain OSCE leaders at the first stage of the building of our relationship. It was said, for example, that the Republic of Crimea should bring its laws into line with the laws and Constitution of Ukraine. This was received very painfully by a number of deputies and deputy factions. But in the process of further meetings with representatives of the OSCE mission we touched on this topic repeatedly, and I believe that the correct conclusions were drawn. The findings that they are making now are reasonable, and we can agree with them. It is felt at the present time that they have become properly involved in the situation and have understood the mood of the citizens of the Republic of Crimea. We can lend an ear to their recommendations. They are not unsubstantiated but based on the local situation and international law.

### MP's Claim Mafia, Authorities Merging in Crimea

*LD1603223295 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1850 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—"Members of the Ukrainian Supreme Council Commission for Measures against Organized Crime and Corruption, who visited the Republic of Crimea, have become convinced that the merger of criminals with the authorities of the peninsula is taking place under the guise of separatism," People's Deputy Mykhaylo Ratushnyy told a news conference on 16 March.

He believes that "nothing good will come out of the restoration of the Serhiy Tsekov-Yuriy Meshkov alliance" and forecasts that Yevhen Saburov, former prime minister of the Crimean Government, can be expected to return to Crimea in connection with this.

People's Deputy Ivan Bilas believes that "an open struggle between the bandit formations, which have clear-cut structures, possess arms, and are backed by concrete officials of the power structures," is under way on the peninsula.

The people's deputies also reported that on 7 March, the law enforcement bodies detained a group of persons on the way out of Sevastopol who were trying to smuggle remote control explosive devices capable of destroying a tank.

According to Mykhaylo Ratushnyy, the submission of a draft law on setting up a free economic zone in Sevastopol for the consideration of Ukraine's parliament can hardly be regarded as mere chance, taking into consideration the fact that sanatoria, beaches, etc. are being sold in the city for almost next to nothing. It was reported at the news conference that the Supreme Council Commission for Measures against Organized Crime and Corruption will soon hold a special expanded sitting dedicated to the crime situation in Crimea, at which officials of the Ukrainian ministries and departments that supervise the crime situation will be heard.

### Parliament Debates Crimea's Constitution, Presidency

*LD1703105095 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0910 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The number one issue of the Ukrainian Supreme Council's agenda for 17 March is the political and legal situation in the Crimean Republic. Parliament's ad hoc commission for the inquiry into the situation in Crimea and the Standing Commission for Legal Policy and Judicial Reform have put forward draft resolutions abolishing the autonomous republic's constitution and several laws, including the laws "On the Election of President of the Crimean Republic" and "On the President of the Crimean Republic." The draft resolutions also suggest that Crimea submit a new constitution for the Ukrainian parliament's approval.

The session is being attended by President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, Crimea's Supreme Council Chairman Serhiy Tsekov, and Crimean parliament deputies.

### Concern at News Conference Over Ruthenian Issue

*LD1603223195 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The issue and consequences of the contemporary Ruthenian political movement was the subject of a news conference at the Society for Relations with Ukrainians Outside Ukraine on 16 March. This phenomenon is no newcomer to history, the news conference heard. It has, however, become considerably more widespread after the declaration of Ukrainian independence, so much so as to warrant the description of the Ruthenian political movement by Harvard University Professor Taras Hunchak as strategic warfare against Ukraine where stakes are held by certain forces both in some of the neighboring countries and overseas.

As an example of the consequences the activity of this anti- Ukrainian organization has had, the news conference cited a split provoked within the Ukrainian ethnic minority in Slovakia into Ruthenians and Ukrainians, which effectively led to the disappearance of traditional Ukrainian institutions.

The latest step in the assimilation of Ukrainians in that neighboring state was to put together the so-called Ruthenian language. The assembly of the language is closely accompanied by blazoning the arrival of a new East Slavonic nation, Fedir Kovach, senior lecturer at the University of Prisov, said.

Kiev University Professor Oleksa Myshanych pointed to the spread of political Ruthenianism in the Transcarpathian region, demonstrating to the journalists a copy of an address to Boris Yeltsin by an organization known as the Interim Government of Transcarpathian Rus. The statement demands that consideration should be given as a matter of urgency to denouncing the treaty of 1945 between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union that, according to this self-appointed authority, put an end to the state of Transcarpathian Rus.

## Economic Issues

### Japanese Teams Visit Enterprises, Select Projects

*WS1703111795 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0805 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] As was reported to an INFOBANK correspondent by Ihor Lytvyn, manager of the second territorial administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ukraine's Ministry of Machine Building, Military Industrial Complex, and Defense Conversion has presented approximately 60 proposals for mutual cooperation to various powerful Japanese entrepreneurial associations, among which are Keydaren and Rotobo. After an analysis provided by experts, the Japanese have already selected eight projects, in particular: production of food-packaging machines (at a plant of ELECTROMASH-ELECTRONIC MACHINES); window blocks made of polyvinyl chloride; machines for sowing crops; medical chambers for gamma-irradiation and Geiger counters (at the ORYZONT factory in Smila, Sumy Oblast); production of automobile components (Lutsk automobile plant); production of trolley buses; and reconstruction of the Pervomaysk machine building plant. According to Lytvyn, a delegation of representatives from Rotobo (a trade association focusing on Russia and East European countries) visited some Ukrainian plants and factories which seek foreign investment. Among the delegation members were representatives of the following Japanese firms: Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Itochio, Marobeni, Matsushita, and Tsumitomo. Lytvyn said that drafts of cooperation with Japanese entrepreneurs have also been prepared by the Ministry of Communication and Ministry of Agriculture of Ukraine.

## Gas Sector Problems, Debt to Russia Viewed

*WS1603101595 Lvov POST-POSTUP in Ukrainian 3-9 Mar 95 p 6*

[Article by Maryana Chorna: "A Black Hole in a Gas Nebula"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukraine's economy, which is tightly connected to the Siberian gas pipeline, suffers from chronic fluctuations in gas pressure. Top bureaucrats explain the ailment of our energy complex with this official diagnosis. Ukraine's power engineering complex, however, is afflicted with one more disease—a dystrophy of blood vessels—which is being assiduously masked. The black hole that has dominated Ukraine for over four years, is sucking up the Siberian gas—pumped through civilized [tsyvilizovanymy] gas pipelines to Ukraine's borders—near the Mykhaylivskyy farm. The gas is being sucked out from Ukraine and ending up somewhere else. The only thing left for us are the debts, and the person who regularly turns off the valves of the pipelines at Ukraine's border likes to remind us of this. A group of Ukrainian Government officials then hastily flies off to Moscow, while another group of officials is removed from office. Some officials go to prison, others retire, while the remainder take other jobs. Miracles take place in the Ukrainian Committee for Gas Industry [UkrHazProm]: Within one month, chiefs are nominated, chiefs are later dismissed, then they are renominated, and people have no time to be surprised. All this haste, meanwhile, does not change anything: Ukraine's debts go up, while gas vanishes into thin air.

The Ukrainian Government is currently going to settle the payments for Siberian gas: It gradually shifts the burden of payments onto the shoulders of consumers. Issues related to gas, however, become more complicated, because no one in Ukraine has managed to estimate the exact amount of gas consumed in Ukraine. On his way from Kiev to the "Naftusya" enterprise in Truskavets, President Kuchma dropped in on the Lvov Oblast Executive Committee and said that Ukraine's gas consumption has doubled in recent years. That was the time when you could have been surprised. What a miracle! No one invests in the gas sector; the construction of gas network facilities has been suspended. People consume less foodstuffs, moreover, they consume primarily bread, therefore, they do not consume gas. In general, the number of people in Ukraine has dropped.... The current winter is warm, therefore, boiler houses in rayons are not overworked. The air quality in Ukraine has improved sharply over the last three years, for even the people in Krivoy Rog can now see the sky, because the factories are standing idle. They do not consume gas, because they stand idle. Ukraine's gas consumption, however, goes up, along with our debt for gas.

Well, just how much gas do we consume? Mr. Makovetskyy, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Committee for Fuel Resources, shrugged his shoulders and stated that perhaps the president has been misled by someone, because Lvov Oblast consumed 1.900 billion cubic meters of natural gas in 1990, while in 1994—1.865 billion. It is absolutely impossible to state what amount of natural gas is consumed by the people. Why? Because only 1,600 people—out of 592,400— have gas meters. The remainder use a "tariff rate," according to which an independent and sovereign individual [nezalezhnyy i suverennyy hromadyanyn] must pay for 3,000-5,000 cubic meters annually. God alone knows whether or not an individual actually consumes this much gas. Mr. Makovetskyy, however, knows exactly that a gas meter in an average apartment where average pensioners live with their grandchildren—taking into account the washing of diapers and cold winters—does not register 1,500 cubic meters annually. According to readings registered by gas meters, people, who have gas stoves, consume about 1,000-2,000 cubic meters of gas annually. It is natural, however, that the "most malicious" gas consumers—who own three-story villas, private car repair shops, and greenhouses—consume gas in a vigorous manner. It is impossible, however, to estimate the exact amount of gas consumed, because there are no gas meters. To be more exact, there are imported gas meters which cost $50 each. Now provide a sincere answer to such a question: Would you buy a $50 gas meter? It is difficult to say why there are no domestically produced gas meters. The government has been "resolving" this issue for three years. They began to resolve this issue under the first Masol and now continue to resolve it under the second Masol.

Meanwhile, tool-making factories—that are supposed to produce such gas meters—are forced to stand idle five out of six working days. While factories, that have money and that would be able to purchase gas, receive "gas consumption ceilings" instead of gas itself. UkrHazProm sets such "gas consumption ceilings" at levels that are perhaps sufficient for heating, provided that it is not cold. When snowdrop flowers blossomed in February, Lvov Oblast fit that framework perfectly. Lvov Oblast obtained 99.7 million cubic meters of gas "for the people" and 169.6 million cubic meters of gas "for factories" over the first three months of 1995. These amounts of gas account for 20 percent of the needs of those enterprises that have not yet fallen into a catatonic state. Lvov Oblast, in fact, repeatedly asked for greater amounts of gas, because there are "Runo" and "Omranya" gas storage reservoirs in Lvov Oblast, which belong to a private Russian and Turkmen company, respectively. Representatives of the oblast went to UkrHazProm with a request for permission to purchase gas for Lvov enterprises that have money. Their request was turned down! Debts.... They began to discuss this issue in early December, however, it is still unresolved. It remains a secret how we could consume twice as much gas as before.

When POST-POSTUP found out that it was impossible to discover what amount of gas was consumed by an average housewife for the joy of our Russian neighbors, we decided to look for other figures: What amount of gas, in general, is delivered to Ukraine? POST- POSTUP asked this question to LvivTransHaz Deputy General Director Yarema Turshynskyy, who described to us how gas is delivered to Ukraine. It is delivered .... Well, no, a story describing how gas is delivered to Ukraine requires a new paragraph.

Well, the gas is pumped through the pipeline as far as our border, across the territories of Russia and Belarus. That portion of the pipeline is Russian property. Before gas crosses our sovereign border, it is measured and registered in Russian gas compressor houses that are not subject to our supervision. In theory, a representative of UkrHazProm, who—on behalf of Ukraine—signs documents that state that our side has obtained a certain amount of gas, must oversee this momentous operation. It has been established historically that sometimes an official from Kiev does not attend this procedure at all and it often happens that an official from the "provinces" is authorized to do this. The amount of gas that is recorded in documents is not checked by any equipment, because there is no such equipment on the Ukrainian side. It has not even been envisaged to install such equipment in the future. What does this imply? It implies the following thing: When—for the sake of blessed peace—according to a mutual accord, relevant measuring equipment was installed on the gas pipeline running from Ukraine to Poland, it was discovered that a daily measurement error on both sides totalled 100,000 cubic meters. That error was triggered by technical reasons alone. Let us now hypothetically invent a short story: Gas has reached the final Russian gas checkhouse and the eyes of Ukrainian consumers will never see the readings indicated by those gas meters. Members of a representative commission gather. Among them, a lone UkrHazProm representative, with young children at home and a low salary. It is not so difficult to come to an agreement. A small "excess" of gas that allegedly was delivered to Ukraine appears in documents, because debts will write off everything. Where that "excess" gas actually ends up, who pays—without "intergovernmental" agreements—$80 per 1,000 cubic meters for it, and who will divide the profits from such an "error" is another story entirely.

Let us, however, regard this story as a hypothesis. The fact, however, is that when the UkrHazProm leadership—at its own initiative—wanted to build gas checkhouses on the Ukrainian side of the pipeline, it encountered certain problems. Perhaps, this was an accidental coincidence.... Other gas associations— TransHaz companies in Kharkov and Donetsk Oblasts—did not show such love for measurements and they work in a businesslike and tranquil atmosphere.

Thus, having tracked the technological gas chain, we found out that the question—what amount of gas is consumed by all of Ukraine and by every resident of Ukraine in particular—is the mystery of the century. In addition, according to Mr. Makovetskyy's description of the technical state of the gas pipelines, the majority of them remember Emperor Franz Joseph I and the times of Alexander II. We can only imagine how much gas is lost due to flaws and cracks in the metal. Some two years ago, when an enthusiast from LvivTransHaz poured a small amount of odorous material into the gas network, everything—from parks to the offices of the Lvov Oblast Executive Council—stunk. Perhaps only venomous members of the animal kingdom, which find themselves slithering close to the gas pipelines, would be able to accurately estimate the number of cubic meters of gas in our gas formula. [sentence as published]

The list of black holes in the gas nebula over Ukraine does not end here, because, aside from the gas we consume, there is gas from Russia and Turkmenistan that travels across our territory to the West. This gas is temporarily stored with us, on Ukrainian territory, until it is time to pump it to German, Polish, and other consumers of Russia's GazProm. As we learned from authoritative experts, in 1994, 6 billion cubic meters of this wealth were stored quite close to Lvov. Huge amounts of gas—about 100 billion cubic meters—are also transited across our territory. Such services, as is known, cost money. How much money exactly? In 1991-94, Polish partners of Russia charged between $16 and $19 for such services, to be exact, for storing 1,000 cubic meters of gas. According to UkrHazProm instructions, Ukraine, however, set its own price for preserving gas—$0.50 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas, or 39 times as low as the world price—in accounts with our Russian brothers. Theoretically, Russia's GazProm would have to have paid $112 million to UkrHazProm for these 6 billion cubic meters of gas [not further specified].

Our neighbors also charge a lot for gas transits across their territories. They charge between $2 and $4 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas transported over every 100 km. According to experts, the length of Ukraine's portion of the pipeline is some 1,300 km. Consequently, simple arithmetic shows: Russia's GazProm would have to have paid between $26 and $56 to Ukraine for every 1,000 cubic meters of gas transited across Ukrainian territory. All in all, 100,000 billion cubic meters of gas could have brought in some $2.6-5.2 billion to Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the budget's clause on "the transit of gas, oil, and ammonia" across the territory of Ukraine in 1994 does not suggest any money. Why did Russia pay less to Ukraine than to Poland? Because, as some people say, it sold gas to Ukraine for less money. Well, perhaps it sold gas cheaper some time before. Now Russia sells gas for $80 per 1,000 cubic meters, so why should it continue to not pay for the gas transit? If it begins to pay the money that it must be paid, but not on "friendly" terms, who will owe money to whom? Who will have to turn off the valves of pipelines? According to public statements of the government itself, the debts, due to which our government is in a state of chronic shock, amount to no more than $5 billion.

By the way, well-informed sources say that the price for gas transits as early as in 1995—as was agreed with Russia's GazProm—must amount to $1.70 for 1,000 cubic meters of gas per 100 km, while the storage of gas in gas reservoirs will continue to be valued at $0.50. One more question emerges in this thick gas haze: What is going on in our UkrHazProm? No one has been able to provide an answer to this question.

The reason for this situation is that it is difficult to understand the moves made by this company. It was a state-run company. UkrHazProm decided to establish a joint-stock company later, in 1993. This was done in an extremely weird fashion: After an edict was issued by the president, calling for the consideration of the establishment of a joint-stock company on the basis of UkrHazProm, this company was instantaneously, without any consideration, transformed into a joint-stock company. No meetings of its local subsidiaries from Donetsk to Lvov—as was envisaged by the law—were held, nor were there any constitutive meetings. No one actually saw a stock certificate. No one specified shares of enterprises in the charter fund of the company, no one divided either profits or losses. In a word, no signs—even approximate ones—of a joint-stock company, other than a logo: A large company. The most interesting aspect is that during the process of creating a joint-stock company, UkrHazProm did not relinquish control over any association; UkrHazProm embraced everything that existed in Ukraine's gas sector and established a full and absolute monopoly. It is clear that as a monopoly, UkrHazProm could not be transformed into a joint-stock company, because the current antimonopoly legislation does not provide for this. So, when everything was concentrated in the "stable and powerful union of UkrHazProm," this company began to pursue a pricing policy that was understandable only to itself; it fended off all those crazy people who tried to estimate the amount of gas purchased. UkrHazProm has managed to "earn" 43 trillion karbovantsi [K] in losses because somewhere it lost the National Bank instructions and forgot to introduce a monthly indexation for its customers. Meanwhile, the rebellious LvivTransHaz, that ended the year with K5.5 trillion in revenues, and has received UkrHazProm instructions to settle a part of the UkrHazProm losses, or K4 trillion.

In the end, the highly esteemed UkrHazProm decided to implement **reform**. It eventually has discovered a radiant road to lead us out of the gas haze. It found out that everything can be blamed on the people who do not want to pay $80 per 1,000 cubic meters of gas, therefore, the people must be forced to pay this price. According to estimates provided by the Lvov Oblast Committee for Fuel Resources, "culprits," who are connected to the central heating system, will have to pay $57 a year, while owners of gas stoves—upwards of $64 a year. If we, however, drop a pointed question—with what money will people be able to pay for all this? We cannot but tack on another question—for what exactly will the people have to pay? There will hardly be a single person who is able to buy a $50 gas meter, therefore, a bright future of transition to the completely new form of market relations—when a customer purchases an unspecified amount of goods for an exact market price; a unique experiment in economic practice—is opened before him.

Aside from this revolutionary move, UkrHazProm was unable to do something greater. The company does not plan to change the practice of issuing "gas consumption ceilings," therefore, even that portion of the industry that is able to pay for gas will have to remain in the state of "structural reconstruction" due to a lack of fuel. Donetsk Oblast, however, is the sole exception, because it smartly signed contract for its gas deliveries with Turkmenistan. Undoubtedly, Ukraine's top oil and gas officials will properly assess this move as a manifestation of a disgusting and malicious "Moscow-type [moskalskyy] separatism."

Meanwhile, the flow of gas will be "measured" on Ukraine's border in the above-mentioned fashion, in exactly the same fashion, in which UkrHazProm and Russia's GazProm are going to observe the "stable" [zaliznyy] parity in prices. Undoubtedly, **reform** will make headway, great headway. If we only knew how it will end. Certain skeptics believe that reform will end in a black hole, where, at the beginning, our government—driven into a corner by its debts—will be forced to give Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin everything, from pipelines to reservoirs, and later, after these facilities and perhaps the opportunity to keep gas accounts with Russia on a parity basis are lost, the government will begin to settle its accounts with other trifles [dribnytsy], victims of "gas consumption ceilings," from the AzovStal factory to the Lvov insulator factory. At that time, they will afford [bydyt uzhe po kycheni] to become owners of Russian privatization vouchers. So, our national flag will proudly fly over the field of the gas battle, and give warmth to the hearts of Ukraine's democrats. Is the sovereign state still alive?

## 1995 Draft State Budget Income, Expenditure Figures

*LD1503191795 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1610 GMT 15 Mar 95*

[All figures as received]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 15 Feb—The draft state budget for 1995 envisages the following structure of income and expenditures.

| **Income:** | |
|---|---|
| value added tax | 22.1 percent; |
| pension fund | 17.1 percent; |
| profit tax | 10.6 per cent; |
| rental payments | 9.2 percent; |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Income:** | |
| citizens' income tax | 5.1 percent; |
| Chernobyl fund | 3.9 percent; |
| foreign trade | 2.6 percent; |
| excise duty | 2.1 percent; |
| other income | 27.3 percent. |
| Expenditures: | |
| social security | 15.6 percent; |
| social and cultural facilities and institutions | 21.3 percent, |
| including education | 9.3 percent, |
| culture | 1.4 percent, |
| health care | 8 percent; |
| national economy | 9.7 percent; |
| science | 1.3 percent; |
| structural reform of economy | 4.6 percent; |
| defense | 4.9 percent; |
| law enforcement | 4.2 percent; |
| legislature | 0.1 percent; |
| executive authorities | 1.1 percent; |
| foreign policy | 1.6 percent; |
| pension fund | 14.8 percent; |
| other expenditure | 17 percent. |

## Ukraine Bans Monsanto Pesticide

*95WN0110A Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 2-8 Mar 95 p 2*

[Article by Larisa Ostrolutskaya: "Pesticide War in Ukraine"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—The Pecherskiy People's Court of Kiev has declared registration of the pesticide "Harness" (made by the American firm Monsanto) illegal. The pesticide contains acetochlorine, which causes cancer.

When personnel of the Ukraine General Procuracy discovered that a list of pesticides and growth regulators authorized for entry into the republic was drawn up in violation of the law on environmental protection, and that vast expanses of Ukrainian fields would be used as a testing ground for foreign chemical fertilizers, they were forced to confront the powerful agro-industrial lobby. Only an appeal to Greenpeace and to Ukraine's representation in the United Nations, and distribution of the procuracy's conclusions through UNESCO channels, temporarily suspended the import of the dangerous untested pesticides.

Despite everything, however, Ukragrokhim concluded a contract for the shipment of 4,000 tonnes of this substance. When the temporary registration of Harness expired, the State Chemicals Commission was supposed to either issue permanent registration for the substance or ban its use in the fields. But in New York, then acting Prime Minister Yefim Zvyahilskyy did not wait for this expiration and signed, on behalf of Ukraine, a protocol with Monsanto written out in longhand for the shipment of another 3,000 tonnes of Harness. The only thing the State Chemicals Commission could do was confirm the opinion of the acting prime minister through its decree. Developmental registration (for a term of two years) was confirmed.

It is interesting that in the United States, Harness is presently undergoing testing and is not authorized for use.

In the end, the court declared the registration of Harness illegal. This is a fairly unusual instance. But from all appearances, it is still too early to call the matter closed. On the one hand, fighting to uphold the honor of the department, the State Chemicals Commission intends to dispute the decision of the court. On the other, U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine William R. Miller has expressed dissatisfaction. In a conversation with Ukraine First Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Pynzenyk, he expressed anxiety regarding the fate of American business in the republic, and termed the actions of the procurator general to repeal the registration of Harness "politically motivated efforts to force the Monsanto company out of the Ukrainian market."

Incidentally, Ukrainian sources report that Harness has been registered in Russia and Belarus.

## Belarus

### Lukashenka Addresses Copenhagen Summit

*WS1603150095 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 14 Mar 95 p 1*

[Address by the President Alyaksandr Lukashenka at the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen: "Normal Conditions for Human Life Must Be Created Jointly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Chairman! Esteemed Delegates! Ladies and Gentlemen!

Let me, on behalf of the Belarusian delegation, thank the Government of Denmark and the United Nations for an invitation to take part in the proceedings of such an imposing forum and for the excellent conditions created for the work of the summit.

Mr. Chairman!

The World Summit on Social Development is perceived by us as a culmination of a series of consistent efforts on the part of the United Nations and its bodies to achieve progress in the social sphere. It is portentous that for the first time in history discussion of these problems is attended by the heads of states and governments of the entire world. This testifies to the fact that politicians are more and more focusing their attention on the man and his problems.

The social problems faced by each separate group of countries are essentially different. In countries with a transitional economy, which also includes our state, radical reconstruction of the national economy is being conducted simultaneously with significant corrections in social policy. A number of new painful phenomena appeared that did not exist earlier: unbalanced economic ties, inflation, the threat of mass unemployment, a sharp decrease in social differentiation, and a lowering of living standards of the population. The destructive impact of these phenomena is obvious. They threaten the social rights of citizens.

I think that, under these circumstances, urgent recommendations on the part of many Western countries and financial organizations to implement accelerated, sometimes forcible, reforms are hardly acceptable for Belarus. It is true that by resolutely renouncing totalitarianism we create a social system qualitatively different from the previous one. I am assured that such a transformation, at certain stages, may be accomplished at a quick, but not artificially forced, rate. The fruit of the reforms should be ripe, not precocious. All this testifies to the fact that this process is historically conditioned and may be developed, first of all, by evolutionary means, when one takes into account, to the fullest extent possible, the national specificity of each individual country as well as the moral, psychological, and physical state of a larger part of its population.

Any deviation from these postulates will inevitably lead to social conflicts, that is, to the hampering of, or a regression in the progress of social development.

Huge barriers on the path toward resolving Belarus' social problems are erected by the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, which covered Belarusian land with over 70 percent of its radioactive fallout. Pollution affected 23 percent of the Belarusian territory inhabited by over 2 million people, including 600,000 children and adolescents.

We are forced to designate almost 20 percent of our yearly budget to deal with the Chernobyl calamity. In my opinion, it is enough to think just for one moment to realize the dramatic nature of these figures for the Republic of Belarus. Unfortunately, there are no foreseeable prospects for reducing these expenses over many years. The past decade convincingly shows that the Chernobyl aftermath is much more complex than was predicted by scientists and experts.

The socioeconomic situation in Belarus is becoming extremely difficult also due to high costs of nuclear disarmament and conventional arms reduction. Our Republic, in particular, has inherited a huge number of tanks, armored equipment, and aircraft from the Soviet Union. Over a period of several years, we fulfilled our obligations for reducing the weapons in a truly exemplary way, but the lack of material resources and funds has literally forced us to suspend this process.

We expect that the world community will understand this extremely unfavorable combination of the above-mentioned factors and render appropriate assistance to our reforms that are being implemented under such difficult circumstances.

Our society is seriously concerned by the idea of expanding NATO by a number of new member states. Many perceive it as an idea fraught with violating the existing military-political situation in Europe and the world, which can potentially undermine trust, cause tension, increase military expenses, and—as a consequence—reduce the financing of social programs.

I am assured that such a prospect is not needed by anyone. All the more so, it is not needed by my Belarus, which lost every fourth citizen in the furnace of World War II. We hope that by our joint effort in the year of the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism we will prevent this.

We think that in a transition period the state policy should be directed at maximally diminishing the negative consequences of joining the market economy, to creating adequate living conditions for all people, and to guaranteeing the freedom of choice for everybody, having excluded the possibility for exercising someone's rights by infringing upon the rights of other people. Our belief is that reform of the social system in transition-type countries should be oriented toward the preservation of the most efficient elements of the old system with an additional inclusion of the positive aspects accrued by market-economy countries.

Mr. Chairman!

Our deepest belief is that there is an urgent need to adopt a global program of assistance to countries with transition-type economies. This program might include the following measures:

—the creation and improvement of a social protection system under market economy circumstances;

—the formation of a modern infrastructure for protecting the environment and labor, ensuring occupational safety, and taking care of the workers' health;

—the training and retraining of cadres for implementing new methods of labor under market economy circumstances;

—the overcoming of mass poverty.

An important role in countries with transition economies might be played by leading industrial countries by stimulating competition and economic activity by opening their markets, supporting structural reconstruction, increasing investments, and transferring technologies.

Now for the conclusion. Mr. Chairman! Our delegation would like to stress that many of the above-mentioned postulates cannot be implemented even in the distant future. However, let me express hope that the international community will act resolutely and efficiently to overcome the most acute problems of social development. The large scale of arising difficulties requires creative thinking and innovative initiatives. One needs to look for resolutions in this sphere together, both on national and international levels. A special role in the consolidation of joint activities should be played by the system of UN bodies. There exist political and technical tools for this.

The main point is that we, the politicians, should do what no one else can do for us—create normal conditions for human life and labor, without wars, conflicts, and social tension. Let us unite our efforts to this noble end!

Thank you.

## Lukashenka: Foreign Policy 'Balanced as Never Before'

*LD1603214495 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In an exclusive interview in connection with the first anniversary of the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus, President Alyaksandr Lukashenka noted that the new basic law has significantly changed the image of our country. First of all, from the point of view of the state (?regime), the structure of executive power has developed into a separate branch and the president of Belarus was elected. [Words indistinct] new bodies of power have appeared; I mean, the presidential vertical power structure, as Alyaksandr Lukashenka noted. They are already not subordinate to soviets but are directly answerable to the president. We are begining to turn our attention to legal aspects of life of our society. As for social and cultural changes in society, we are beginning to allocate a wider role to our young intellectuals. I have met representatives of virtually all our intellectuals.

I would like first of all to highlight our foreign policy, Alyaksandr Lukashenka stressed. It is balanced as never before. At the beginning of my activities I was criticized for the eastern aspect. It is true—China, Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, the eastern direction was prevailing. The CIS is closer to me than the West. While we were implementing the eastern policy which is beneficial for our producers we were preparing the western direction so that it would be balanced with the East. Our latest trip to Brussels [word indistinct] balanced our foreign policy. We have opened Europe for ourselves.

We have also opened China. In May, we are receiving—which is a surprise for many—Chinese Premier Li Peng. The Chinese do not travel much [word indistinct].

In the first quarter of this year I will make many demands on everyone, Alyaksandr Lukashenka continued. This spring is a test for agriculture. One should not weep because there are insufficient funds for the sowing campaign. You can sell your meat, milk [words indistinct]. Do you want me to switch on the money printing press? Do you want me to take money from pensioners, students, and schoolchildren to finance the sowing campaign? For the first time in history we now have parity between agricultural and industrial output. In a word, everyone can see changes in our society, if people can see things at other than the micro level.

## Joint Cooperation Committee With China Meets

*WS1703101395 Minsk BELAPAN in English 0800 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On March 16, the first sitting of the Belarusian-Chinese Commission for Trade and Economic Cooperation ended in the signing of a protocol. The commission had been formed in accordance with an agreement which had been reached during the visit of a Belarusian government delegation to Beijing in September last year. From March 12-16 the commission considered the aspects of implementation of the agreements President Lukashenka had achieved with the Chinese leadership when visiting China in January.

At the press conference on the results of the sitting the Belarusian minister for foreign economic relations

Mikhail Marynich informed that the Chinese side was interested in cooperation with Belarusian enterprises, such as the Integral electronics company, Plenary company, BelOMO optical company, Minsk wheeled prime mover works, and the Minsk automatic lines factory. According by Mr. Marynich, Belarus-produced wheeled prime movers and some Integral products will be purchased by the Chinese Ministry of Defense. Three complexes of automatic lines will be delivered to China before the end of this year. They will be used at a Chinese-French motor-car production enterprise. The Chinese side expressed its interest in establishing service centers for Plenary and BelOMO products on the territory of China.

At the press conference it was informed that the commission was working on the organization of a Belarusian national exhibition scheduled for the fourth quarter of 1996. At the sitting the commission also considered the question of establishing a joint enterprise for the assembling of BelAZ heavy dump-body trucks in China. The technical and economic substantiation of this project will be completed this month. The possibility of establishing a joint medicine production venture and a center of the traditional Chinese medicine was also discussed at the sitting.

At the press conference it was pointed out that in the near future a delegation of representatives of the All-Chinese Import-Export Company for Precision Machine-Building and a number of industrial enterprises was expected to arrive in Minsk to further work on joint projects. According to the Chinese members of the commission, the quality of the Belarusian products delivered to their country still suit them. Incidentally, last year foreign trade turnover between Belarus and China totalled 43,024 thousand U.S. dollars, Belarus' export to China—39,697 thousand dollars; import—3,327 thousand.

## Cooperation Between Belarusian, Russian TV Companies

*LD1603214395 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1700 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] An agreement on cooperation between the National State Tele-Radio Company of Belarus and the Russian State Tele-Radio Company was signed today in Minsk. The document was signed by the leaders of the companies, Rygor Kisel and Oleg Poptsov. The agreement envisages exchange of television and radio programs, participation in Russian and Belarusian television festivals and joint production of material for broadcasting. Already, in the near future journalists of the two countries will start to make joint programs to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Great Victory.

## SS-25 Rockets To Be Withdrawn to Russia by Jul

*LD1603214295 Minsk Radiostantsiya Belarus International Service in Belarusian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] It is planned that the withdrawal of strategic rockets from Belarus to Russia will be complete by the end of July, according to Colonel Vladimir Krivimazov, head of the press center of the rocket troops of Russia. As he said, there are 36 Topol SS-25 rockets left in Belarus now. He stressed that the withdrawal of the strategic rocket troops is carried out strictly in accordance with the schedule. Out of the former USSR republics, besides Russia and Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan possess strategic rockets. In accordance with the interstate agreement, the stationary strategic rockets deployed on their territory must also be withdrawn to the territory of Russia.

## Minister Signs Drug, Crime Pact in London

*WS1703100995 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1500 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to the Belarusian Embassy in the United Kingdom, during the visit of a Belarusian delegation headed by the Minister for Internal Affairs Yuriy Zakharenka to this country, which started on March 12, an intergovernmental memorandum on mutual understanding and cooperation in the sphere of struggle against the illicit trafficking of narcotic substances, organized crime and international terrorism was signed. The memorandum came to force at the moment of signing. It is the first step in the cooperation of the Belarusian organs of justice with their colleagues in the European countries.

On behalf of the British government the document was signed by the Home Secretary Mr. Michael Howard. The British side expressed its intention to take part in the joint elaboration of a programme for the struggle against crime, and its preparedness to render technical and other aid to carry out it. While staying in London Yuriy Zakharenka met representatives of the Scotland Yard and the Home Office's services for immigration, struggle against narcotics, and prevention of terrorism.

## Security Chief Discusses Crime at CIS Meeting

*WS1603160695 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1500 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The chairman of the State Committee for State Security of the Republic of Belarus Uladzimir Yehoraw took part in the conference of the chiefs of the special services of the CIS member-states, which finished on March 15 in Moscow. As a BELAPAN correspondent was informed at the press-office of the Belarusian State Committee for State Security, the participants of the meeting discussed questions concerning the struggle against organized crime, narcotics business and nuclear terrorism, as well as some of the problems of mutual concern. At the meeting it was repeatedly pointed out that the special services of the CIS states was badly in need of cooperation to oppose the rise in crime. The meeting, which was attended by the head of the special services of 11 states, resulted in the passing of a communique and a joint declaration.

### President Proposes Parliament Should Dissolve

*LD1603162395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Mar 16 (Interfax-West)—Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka intends to propose "later in March" that the Supreme Soviet announce self-dissolution, without waiting for the results of the next parliamentary elections scheduled for May 14.

Speaking on Wednesday night over national TV, he said that by taking such "a brilliant step", the deputies would rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the public despite their recent errors and shortcomings.

For example, the president believes it was unjustified to schedule elections for May 14 while under the Constitution the term of the current parliament is to expire in March. The president believes that, having scheduled the elections for May 14, the Supreme Soviet extended its power for at least three months more, until the day of the first session of the new supreme legislative body. "And this is despite the fact that the parliament officially declared three times about its intention to resign before its term expires," said Lukashenka.

He denied rumors about intending to issue a decree dissolving the Supreme Soviet. "Let the deputies do it themselves," said the president.

He said that on March 15 he signed a decree guaranteeing equal opportunities for those running in parliamentary elections. Under the document, state officials, directors of state enterprises, who are nominated to parliament, are banned to use state-owned chauffeured cars during the election campaign. If there are violations, "the candidate's registration will be annulled," said Lukashenka.

Meanwhile, he continued, "it is difficult to speak about equal opportunities in the current election campaign because millions of U.S. dollars come from abroad in support of the so-called 'democratic forces' in the republic." (He had in mind the opposition Belarusian People's Front.) According to the president, the Front receives "rather large" financial support.

Alyaksandr Lukashenka confirmed the intention to hold a nationwide referendum on the two state languages and the state flag and emblem.

Belarusian is currently the state language and Russian is the "language of inter-ethnic communication." The president calls himself an advocate of putting Russian on par with Belarusian.

Speaking about the state emblem, the president said: "Let the people decide whether to have an emblem depicting the knight on a horse with a sword in his hand, or to have a more peaceful one—with the sun and spikes" (that was the emblem of Belarus when the republic was a constituent part of the Soviet Union - "IF").

"A bunch of right-wing nationalists shout: The referendum should not be held. It will split society!. No! The referendum will not split society, it will consolidate it," believes the Belarusian president.

### President Forms Media Oversight Body, Fires Editor

*WS1703121995 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1100 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mass media have recently distorted the foreign, domestic, and social policies conducted by the state. There are cases of violations of Belarusian law encroaching on citizens' rights. In compliance with his constitutional powers, the Belarusian president has resolved the following:

First, to ensure that mass media abide by the law in their activities, the administration of the Belarusian president should submit a proposal to set up a supervisory council under the Belarusian president, with the participation of representatives of the public in its work.

Second, to relieve Iosif Pawlavich Syaredzich of the post of editor in chief of NARODNAYA GAZETA for having published, in the 10 March 1995 edition of this newspaper, an unattributed article under the Letter to the President rubric, calling for violence and civil unrest.

This was the edict issued by Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka On Cases of Legal Violations by Mass Media.

### Legality of Gas Company Takeover Examined

*WS1703100495 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1500 GMT 16 May 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Council of the Control Chamber of the Republic of Belarus held a sitting to discuss the results of an examination of the observance of the Belarusian legislation currently in force when the Belarusian-Russian agreement on the amalgamation of the state-owned enterprise Beltranshaz with the Russian Gazprom concern was signed. It was pointed out that the incorporation of Beltranshaz into Gazprom which is controlled by non-state structures means an act of destatization and privatization of the state property of Belarus. According to current Belarusian law, the enterprises of pipeline transportation, of which Beltranshaz is one, are not subject to privatization. In addition, the appraisal of the property of Beltranshaz, which was to be the share the Belarusian enterprise deposits in the statutory fund of Gazprom, was not carried out in full accordance with the established procedure. The establishments of the social infrastructure of Beltranshaz were left beyond the appraisal. The terms of their subsequent ownership and use were not specified either. Besides this, the share of the Belarusian side in the Gazprom statutory fund will make up only 0.5 percent. In the opinion of the Council of the Control Chamber, this will not give an opportunity to the Belarusian side to influence the decisions the concern will take. The agreement did not specify the procedure and terms of the possible secession of Beltranhaz from the concern.

As a result of the implementation of the agreement Belarus may lose the right to the possession of Beltransgaz and, consequently, to the control of functioning of the gas transportation and distribution system on its territory.

The chairman of the Control Chamber, Mr. Vasil Sakovich, submitted information about the results of the examination to President Alyaksandr Lukashenka and the Supreme Soviet chairman Myacheslaw Hryb.

## Moldova

### Dniester Vice President Hits Army Withdrawal, Lebed

*MM1703115695 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 16 Mar 95 p 3*

[Interview with Aleksandr Karaman, vice president of the Dniester Moldovan Republic, by Olga Kozlova; place and date not given: "14th Army Crawls Away...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 14th Army's withdrawal from the Dniester region has begun. The evacuation of weapons, combat equipment, and gear is in full swing, although the agreement on this between Moscow and Chisinau has not been ratified by the Russian State Duma. Aleksandr Karaman, vice president of the Dniester Moldovan Republic [DMR], talks about the kind of new political and military situation that is developing in the Dniester region.

[Karaman] Our main concern at the moment is how to protect the interests of the Dniester region, which also means Russia. Because the Dniester region has been Russian soil from time immemorial. Russian soldiers liberated it from the Turkish yoke; this entire territory is drenched in their blood and paved with their bones. The Russian Army has been here since the time of the great Suvorov [18th century Russian general], a memorial to whom adorns the center of Tiraspol.

The 14th Army's withdrawal from the DMR is nothing other than a retreat by Russia. The disbandment of units has already begun. General Lebed, the army's commander, just could not resist taking a swipe at us. He stated that in the form in which the agreement between Russia and Moldova was signed, there could be only one way for the Army to withdraw: "He puts the unit colors in his attache case, the stamp in his pocket, and leaves," while all the Army's property is apparently left in the Dniester region and "the world gets a well-equipped bandit worker-peasant Red Army in the center of Europe." This is what the general told foreign guests. It was a large delegation (30 people), which came to familiarize itself with the situation in Moldova in connection with its upcoming admission to the Council of Europe, although in their joint statement the Dniester Region Supreme Soviet and government expressed the firm belief that Moldova does not meet the conditions for its admission to the Council of Europe and that the 14th Army must not be withdrawn until the question of the Dniester region's status has been decided.

Let me remind you that Chisinau's admission to the United Nations culminated in the outbreak of war against the Dniester region in 1992. Of course, we cannot fail to be alarmed by the fact that Moldova is rapidly building up its military might. Just whom does it intend to fight? Ukraine or Romania? Of course not. It is preparing for a war against the Dniester region. We cannot look on calmly while Moscow hands over the 14th Army's weapons to Chisinau in these conditions.

The Army is in well-equipped, warm premises in the Dniester region. It is supplied with heating, water, electricity, gas, municipal services, housing, day nurseries, hospitals, and schools. Moreover, we provide all services at prices five to six times lower than normal prices. Although we buy all power sources at world prices in Russia. It happens to be a Russian army and we are maintaining it. And we will continue to maintain it if necessary. The 14th Army is not just an army. It is Russia. If it leaves the Dniester region, that means that Russia will have left us. And it will never return there because NATO will take its place.

[Kozlova] In the event of the 14th Army's withdrawal will you be able to protect your independence?

[Karaman] If need be, yes! We have already shown in 1992 that even with a 20:1 superiority in personnel, equipment, ammunition, and other things Moldova was still unable to break the Dniester region, because for us it was a patriotic war. For us it was a war for our freedom, for our homes, and for our families. Two years have gone by and Moldova has fundamentally strengthened its Armed Forces. But even in this state I think that today we would be able to withstand another Moldovan onslaught, although I find it hard to believe that anybody would dare try that again. But under the agreement Russia must give Moldova 35 percent of all property, equipment, and weapons and between 60 and 100 percent of various kinds of ammunition. The currently existing balance of forces could then change and the situation would become markedly more complicated.

[Kozlova] Is Moldova assisting the 14th Army's withdrawal?

[Karaman] With all speed. It is stating this in the Council of Europe and United Nations. But not only Moldova.

U.S. diplomats and representatives of the Council of Europe and CSCE [abbreviation as published] are demanding that Russia withdraw the Russian Army as soon as possible. Literally the other day representatives of the U.S. Congress came here and demanded in very tough terms that Russia leave the Dniester region, and the sooner the better.

[Kozlova] Was there an official appeal by your leadership to Yeltsin in connection with the latest events in the Dniester region?

[Karaman] We have appealed to all levels of authority in Moscow. But there has been no reply. Maybe I did not mention the most important thing. On 26 March our republic will hold elections to local organs of power, to village, settlement, and city councils of people's deputies. On the same day we will hold the fourth referendum on the question of the 14th Army's withdrawal. There is probably no other state in the CIS in which people's referendums could be held in such a stable way. We want to show that it is not the whim of Smirnov, Karaman, Marakutsa—of the Dniester region's leaders—who want the Army to stay so they can rely on Russian soldiers and keep the people obedient. Let the people express their will.

[Kozlova] On the one hand you are against the 14th Army's withdrawal and at the same time you talk of the malicious campaign being conducted by Gen. Lebed and his entourage against the DMR leadership? How is this to be interpreted?

[Karaman] I do not in any way intend to equate the 14th Army with its commander and his entourage. Lebed is not the 14th Army. The vast majority of officers and soldiers are perfectly well aware of the state of affairs, if only because our inhabitants make up 70 percent of the Army. Around 50 percent of officers and warrant officers live here. Their houses and families are in the Dniester region. Where and by whom will they be needed? Or do they want to join the hundreds of thousands of soldiers and officers who have been taken out of Europe and who are living in tents, barracks, or the middle of nowhere? Where will their children go to school? Which day nurseries will they go to? That is why many are now leaving the Army, in order to stay in the Dniester region. Because here in the Dniester region there is not a single bankrupt enterprise. All plants and factories are working here. Of course, the universal production slump has affected us too, but we, I repeat again, have not closed a single plant. Eighty-five percent of the state budget goes on social needs.

But Lebed and his right-hand man—Bergman—are trying to brand us as a criminal regime and exporter of weapons and gunmen. No sooner had we arrived in Moscow than the Bergman-Lebed team launched the latest "canard" in our wake to the effect that gunmen had been sent from the Dniester region to Moscow (initially they said 120, then 400), armed to the teeth, wearing flak jackets, and equipped with space communications facilities, in order to participate in terrorist acts in Moscow. This report was on Ekho Moskvy radio, then on television, and then it was picked up by MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, and SEGODNYA newspaper. But I repeat again that Lebed is not the whole 14th Army at a time when we are trying to impose order in the republic, and specifically when Dniester Region President Igor Smirnov has signed an edict on combating corruption and organized crime similar to the Russian president's edict. But Gen. Lebed stated that this edict does not apply to 14th Army servicemen and that, if the Dniester region law-enforcement organs try to implement measures affecting 14th Army servicemen, Gen. Lebed will give the order to fire. There have already been cases where some servicemen have opened fire on the peaceful population and wounded people, not fatally but only by luck. Nevertheless we are managing to preserve order in the republic and we are doing this jointly with the selfsame 14th Army. We do not want it to leave because it has always been the guarantor of peace and stability in our region.

## Kazakhstan

### Defense Minister Receives Chinese Military Delegation

*LD1603183695 Almaty Kazakh Radio First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] An official visit by a military delegation from the People's Republic of China headed by Lieutenant General (?Tao Gan Chuan), the deputy head of the general staff of the People's Liberation Army has ended.

The delegation was received by Tolegen Zhukeyev, the secretary of the Security Council and Defense Minister Saghadat Nurmaghambetov.

The delegation visited defense enterprises, military training centers, units and subunits of Kazakhstan's Armed Forces.

### Hunger Strike by 22 Former Deputies Continues

*LD1603150495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1148 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Almaty, Mar 16 (Interfax)—Former Kazakh MP Valeriy Galenko told Interfax Thursday [16 March] that 22 deputies of the former Kazakh parliament continue their hunger strike in the Almaty parliamentary building.

Seventy two out of the 177 former deputies went on a three-day warning hunger strike on March 15 although most quit before the end.

In Galenko's words, the deputies realize that parliament ceased to exist but appeal to the president for letting them retain their MP status, with their rights and privileges, until new elections. The Supreme Soviet had decided that the deputies be paid 1.5 times the salary of a Kazakh minister, have a personal car and that some may live in government-owned flats with furniture.

Galenko said the new elections are likely to lead to many former deputies returning to parliament.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev told journalists that parliament had passed as few as seven laws in a year, while its upkeep costs the country 1,258 million tenge, the 1994 budget deficit was 20,500 million tenge ($1 = 60 tenge).

Parliament was disbanded by Nazarbayev on March 11 after the country's Constitutional Court ruled it devoid of a legal basis in as the principles of equal representation had been violated in the March 1994 elections.

### Deputies Form 'Alternative Parliament' Movement

*MM1703120195 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 2*

[Report by Vladimir Ardayev: "Kazakhstan: Deputies Starve, Threaten Self-Immolation, and Set Up Alternative Parliament"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almaty—On Wednesday [15 March], the ex-deputies of the Kazakhstan Supreme Council, which has been pronounced unconstitutional, announced the creation of the "People's Parliament of Kazakhstan" sociopolitical movement.

This movement was devised, in point of fact, as an alternative parliament, although it is not clear as yet precisely what aims and tasks it will set itself. The deputies of the dissolved Supreme Council represent various social strata and political forces, at times diametrically opposed, and they are calling for unification under the flag of opposition to the president by all parties and movements existing in the republic, such as, for instance, the Slav movement "Lad," which basically defends the interests of the Russian population, and the civil movement "Azat," which stands up, on the whole, for national-patriotic ideas. Were such a unification to come about (and this is hard to believe) then it may well be that a realistic opposition will be formed in Kazakhstan, something which has not existed to this day.

None of the former leaders of the dissolved parliament has yet associated himself with the protesting deputies. Among the latter, a prominent position is occupied by Olzhas Suleymenov, who heads the People's Congress of Kazakhstan Party. It was created originally as a pro-presidential party, but a few months ago O. Suleymenov proclaimed it an opposition party and went on to declare that he intends to run as a candidate at the forthcoming presidential elections at the end of next year.

In an interview for local television. O. Suleymenov announced that the deputies have decided to support their three hunger-striking comrades and to join them. As we know, 22 former deputies have declared a three-day hunger strike. Vladimir Chernyshov, who was first to declare an indefinite hunger strike, announced his intention to organize a public self-immolation in front of the American Embassy building. He suggests that the United States is to blame for the liquidation of the parliament insofar as it was that country which insisted that constitutional reforms be conducted in Kazakhstan, primarily concerning the introduction of private land ownership which the former parliament opposed.

That same day, Wednesday, President N. Nazarbayev received at his residence a group of former parliamentarians who have been given new appointments. Addressing them, he noted that the current development of events in Kazakhstan showed that the people of Kazakhstan, upon encountering tricky problems, are capable of overcoming them in a dignified and civilized manner.

### President Nazarbayev Approves 1995 Budget

*LD1503191095 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] In accordance with the Law on Temporarily Delegating Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Heads of

Regional Administrations, President Nursultan Nazarbayev has issued an edict approving the 1995 republican budget.

## Kvyatkovskaya on Election Code Violations

*954F1769A Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Mar 95 p 1*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Press Conference": "The Fall of Rome or the Destruction of Carthage?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The unprecedented decision of the republic Constitutional Court, which found the elections to the Supreme Council, and hence, the supreme body of representative authority itself, illegitimate, has been on Kazakhstani citizens' mind and the subject of mass media interest for several days.

In order to remove many of the questions, the "culprit" in the event—Tatyana Kvyatkovskaya, whose Constitutional Court claim had such an explosive effect—held a press conference.

She first read her statement. "This is our [word illegible]," written, as Kvyatkovskaya pointed out, in journalistic style, in which she explained the motive for turning to law enforcement organs and covered in general the course of the judiciary proceedings. Then she answered questions.

Journalists inquired whether T. Kvyatkovskaya intends to run for parliament again. The answer was that in principle she would rather not participate in elections and work in the Supreme Council, but Almaty residents who support her are insisting on her consent and even beginning to collect signatures. People's trust places an obligation on a person, she said, and quite possibly the decision will be positive, after all.

On 4 March T. Kvyatkovskaya wrote in KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA—the newspaper in which she made her name as a journalist—that she never meant to "destroy Rome for the sake of a triumph of rights." Perhaps this is a case in which another principle applies: "Carthage must be destroyed"?—she was asked at the press conference. To which she replied:

"I am not thinking in terms of the 'fall of Rome,' since no usurpation of power by the president is present."

In turn, she does not see herself as "playing into anyone's hands," since overall the final part of the "game" was conducted by the rules.

Would she had done it if she had known what the consequences would be?

"Remember the general dissatisfaction with the results of the vote," reminded Tatyana Kvyatkovskaya. "I wanted to restore justice, and was fighting for my rights."

"Had you been elected deputy, how much longer would the current parliament have remained in place?" one of her colleagues asked.

In her reply Mrs. Kvyatkovskaya emphasized once again that she had not set for herself the task of "overthrowing" the Supreme Council, and her complaint dealt with violations of the Election Code in Abylaykhanovskiy Electoral District. She believes that her victory has imbued Kazakhstan residents with faith in the republic's democratic institutions.

Read the Constitutional Court's ruling on T. Kvyatkovskaya's claim in the official section of the next issue of our newspaper.

## Constitutional Court Decree Results Viewed

*954F1758A Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Mar 95 p 1*

[KAZTAG report under the "President, Government, Parliament" rubric: "Why Parliament Has Been Ruled Illegitimate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 11 March President Nursultan Nazarbayev sent an official inquiry to the Constitutional Court asking it to provide, in connection with the Constitutional Court's ruling on the claim by citizen T.G. Kvyatkovskaya going into effect on 6 March 1995, clarification on the following issues:

Does this ruling mean that the elections to the Supreme Council held on 7 March 1994 were unconstitutional, and therefore the powers of the parliament members elected are invalid?

If Supreme Council deputies' powers are unconstitutional, who is empowered to enact legislative decisions?

Does the Constitutional Court's ruling mean that the law "On Temporary Delegation of Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Heads of Local Administration" is still in effect?

If this law remains in effect, does the president have the right to continue to issue acts that among other things have the force of constitutional laws, and make changes and additions to them—in particular, to the Election Code, in order to eliminate the shortcomings revealed in the course of court proceedings?

If the 7 March 1994 elections to the Supreme Council and the powers of the elected deputies are unconstitutional, does this mean that the next parliamentary elections will be considered "repeat" or "interim" elections and must be held within the time frame set by Articles 67 and 68 of the Election Code?

On the same day the Constitutional Court, having reviewed in adjudicating proceedings the inquiry from the head of state as a person responsible for implementation of the Constitutional Court ruling, issued an additional ruling as clarification of its 6 March 1995 ruling on the claim by citizen T.G. Kvyatkovskaya.

The additional ruling says that in keeping with Article 131 of the fundamental law of the country, finding unconstitutional the Central Electoral Commission acts enumerated in Point 1 of the Constitutional Court's 6 March 1995 ruling repeals their effect on the territory of the republic, as well as acts of the Central and other electoral commissions based on them, and acts of other state bodies associated with the formation of the Abylaykhanovskiy electoral district of the city of Almaty and the holding of elections in it, summing up the results of the vote, and registering Supreme Council deputies elected in all electoral districts and by state lists on 7 March 1994 and 22 January 1995.

The creation of electoral districts that differ considerably in number of voters interferes with citizens' equal rights, as set forth by Articles 109 and 11 of the republic constitution, with respect to their participation in elections of Supreme Council deputies, both as voters and as candidates for deputy seats. This also violates the requirements of Part 2 of Provision 1 of the foundation of the constitutional system and Article 1 of the fundamental law on guaranteeing equal rights for all citizens.

Each voter in a single-seat electoral district had the opportunity to cast not one vote for candidates running for Supreme Council deputy, as envisaged by Article 111 of the constitution, but several, up to the number of candidates on the ballot, which is a gross violation of the fundamental law.

The Central Electoral Commission, approving in its 1 February 1995 decision the letter "On Organization and Procedures of Voting and Summarizing the Results of the Vote on Elections of Supreme Council Deputies by State Lists and the Results of the 7 March 1994 Elections of Supreme Council Deputies in Territorial Electoral Districts," which has a normative effect in the part explaining the procedures for vote counting, exceeded its powers and thereby violated Article 60 of the constitution.

The identified violations of the fundamental law occurred on the territory on the entire republic and affected to an equal degree the constitutional rights of all citizens who comprise the electorate.

The legal consequence of the 6 March 1995 ruling of the Constitutional Court, the additional ruling states, is the unconstitutionality of the powers of the Supreme Council elected on 7 March 1994, and of the deputies elected in the repeat elections on 22 January 1995. In the circumstances of the absence in the republic of a legitimately elected Supreme Council since 19 April 1994, the law "On Temporary Delegation of Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Heads of Local Administration," dated 10 December 1993, which vests the president with the right to issue decisions of a legislative nature and other powers, remains in effect for the period until a legitimate parliament is elected.

This law envisages the president issuing acts with the force of law "on the basis and in execution of the constitution." The right of the head of the state to issue acts with the force of law, including constitutional law—among which, in particular, is the Election Code—and to make changes and additions to them is based on the fact that Article [number illegible] is not specific with respect to which acts having the force of law the republic president has a right to issue. It also follows from the right of the head of state, established by Article 3 of aforementioned law, to independently carry out the authority envisaged in Point 7 of Article 78 of the constitution, to issue a corresponding act with the force of constitutional law, and hence, accordingly, the right to issue acts with the force of constitutional law.

The Constitutional Court's 6 March 1995 ruling on the formation of electoral districts, the methodology of vote-counting, and determining the results of elections necessitates the holding of new unscheduled elections of all Supreme Council deputies, the Constitutional Court's additional ruling states.

It clarifies that the grounds and procedures for electing a full Supreme Council are regulated by Article 57 of the Election Code. The grounds for setting elections is the end of the deputies' constitutional term, unless otherwise established by the Supreme Council. In keeping with the restoration of the effect of the 10 December 1993 law, this Supreme Council's authority has been transferred to the republic president.

As follows from Article 57 of the Code, the date of Supreme Council elections is scheduled by the president in compliance with the requirements of Article 116 of the constitution—that elections of Supreme Council deputies and of the president not be held simultaneously. There are no other restrictions with respect to the timeframe for holding elections.

Articles 67 and 68 of the Election Code regulate concrete situations: Article 67—repeat elections (if the previous ones were found not to be held because the required turnout of voters was not met, or to be invalid, if the only candidate on the ballot was not elected); and Article 68—holding interim elections to replace deputies who have quit, resigned, or been recalled (in the event of early termination of deputy powers, as set forth by Article 7 of the law "On the Status of People's Deputies in the Kazakh SSR). Also, in keeping with Article 67, elections are held "no later than two months after the previous elections," and in keeping with Article 68—"in relevant electoral districts within three months from the date of a deputy having quit, resigned, or been recalled." Thus, the timeframe for setting and holding elections as envisaged in Article 67 and 68 do not apply to early elections of the Supreme Council.

The Constitutional Court believes that in determining the timeframe for holding Supreme Council elections, the republic president's decision should be based on such factors as the need to conduct extensive preparatory work, including creating the relevant legal acts, amending election legislation, and carrying out comprehensive organizational-technical measures.

The Constitutional Court also announced that its additional ruling cannot be appealed.

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In connection with restoring the effect of the law "On Temporary Delegation of Additional Powers to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Heads of Local Administration," it is necessary to reiterate in more detail the substance of its provisions, already mentioned in the Constitutional Court's additional ruling.

According to articles of this law, the head of the state is granted the right for the period until the first session of the newly elected Supreme Council begins to function (in this situation—until the replacement of the one found illegitimate) to issue, on the basis and in execution of the constitution, acts with the force of law. It is set forth that such acts remain in force until corresponding laws of the republic are enacted.

The president is also granted the right for the period until the first session of the newly elected Supreme Council begins to function, and with its subsequent approval, to carry out if necessary the powers of the Supreme Council envisaged in Points 12-15, 18, and 20 of Article 64 of the constitution, and in addition, to independently carry out the powers envisaged by Points 3, 7, and 16 of Article 78 of the fundamental law.

The president and heads of local administration are also vested with a number of other rights.

* * *

At a press conference given by Nursultan Nazarbayev late in the evening of 11 March for Kazakhstani and foreign journalists, he said that what is currently happening in the republic is nothing less than a parliamentary crisis.

The president, as the guarantor of strict observance of the constitution, intends to do everything to prevent encroachment on the rights and freedoms of citizens of Kazakhstan. All the necessary preconditions for this are in place in the country: The constitution and other laws are operating, and the head of state and the government, their staff, and other structures of executive authority are working overtime.

Speaking to the mass media, N. Nazarbayev emphasized that in the current out of the ordinary situation, journalists, by virtue of their professional and civic duty, are called upon to reflect the substance of the current events in the maximum objective way.

## Finance Official on Problems for Economy

*954F1743A Almaty PANORAMA in Russian No 10, 11 Mar 95 p 2*

[Interview with Bazarbay Zharmenov, chief of the Main Administration on Financial Policy of the Ministry of Economics, by Nurlan Makhmudov; place and date not given: "The Government Does Not Intend To Conduct Another Interenterprise Clearing To Solve the Nonpayment Problem"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Makhmudov] Bazarbay Bakhytovich, as of the current moment the main problem for the economy is to eliminate nonpayments among enterprises. What is the scope of this in the republic as a whole?

[Zharmenov] As of the beginning of this year in the four basic branches of the economy—industry, construction, transportation, and agriculture—accounts payable amounted to 148.7 billion tenge, of which about 35 percent was delinquent indebtedness. And accounts receivable amounted 142.8 billion tenge, 32.6 percent of which was in default. If one is to speak of the structure, more than 80 percent of accounts payable were from nonpayments within the republic, and for accounts receivable this indicator reached 88 percent. As for outside factors such as payments to Russia and other countries not going through, they are no longer the leading ones.

Nonpayments are paralyzing the normal circulation of economic resources, goods, and monetary funds and are causing numerous social problems. A special danger here is that through a chain reaction they can quickly move from one enterprise to another and, as a result, a complicated interweaving of mutual debts can occur.

It should be stated that in the new year so far the problem of nonpayments has only been exacerbated and the government has been unable to implement the measures earmarked in this regard in the second half of 1994. In September, in particular, the Cabinet of Ministers adopted a decree which envisioned the creation of a republic interdepartmental commission on reorganization and elimination of insolvent state enterprises and earmarked the basic principles and mechanisms for their restoration or for the elimination of insolvent enterprises. The Ministry of Economics, as the commission's working organ, has done a great deal of analytical work and put together a data bank of more than 500 enterprises that are operating at a loss, based on suggestions from ministries, local administrations, joint-stock companies, and holding companies. It was suggested that this list be divided into several categories and that a separate approach be taken to each of them.

Unfortunately, the number of debtor enterprises has not decreased yet, but certain positive tendencies have been manifested. For example, the publication in the press of a list of 15 enterprises with the greatest indebtedness on the scale of the republic had not only a propagandistic and political effect but also an economic one: Several small enterprises, having seen the names of the giants of the republic in the press, started thinking about their own future and about improving economic indicators, and some of them even applied to the ministry to take them off the black list.

The government has already taken certain steps regarding some enterprises. In particular, regarding the largest—Karmetkombinat—the Cabinet of Ministers adopted a separate decree and a manager for reorganization has been confirmed. Two other enterprises from the published list—Pavlodar Aluminum Plant and the Sokolovsko-Sarbaysk Ore-Enriching Combine—have now been turned over for temporary management by a foreign firm.

[Makhmudov] We have already noted that most of the nonpayments are in settlements within the republic. What has brought this about?

[Zharmenov] Partially, probably, because of objective factors this problem was generated by self-government, when during the period of the agricultural campaigns some enterprises had to give others fuel and lubricants, technical equipment, spare parts, and goods without prepayment. But a good deal of blame for the escalation of the problem to the present scale lies directly on the shoulders of the directors themselves who, taking advantage of an extremely difficult situation, are trying to turn even mandated credits into state subsidies in the hope that they will not have to repay them at all. This is confirmed also by data from inspections conducted by the State Committee on Financial Control.

[Makhmudov] One can probably assume the corps of directors is hoping for another interenterprise clearing analogous to the one of last March.

[Zharmenov] It is quite possible that a certain number of the directors have that hope. But last year's interenterprise clearing was very unsuccessful and the government cannot be expected to repeat it. The September decree, on whose implementation work is continuing, suggests another way out of this situation, specifically the creation of special organs which will engage in reorganization of insolvent enterprises. This is the creation under the Ministry of Economics of an agency for reorganization of enterprises, the formation of a fund for restructuring enterprises, and also the creation of a rehabilitation trust. The trust, on whose creation it is intended to spend part of the World Bank loan, will amount to $62 million and it will assume the functions of working with 30-40 of the largest enterprises or insolvent enterprises under state control. All accounts and all indebtedness of economic entities will be transferred to it. And the trust on behalf of the state will play the role of a consolidated creditor for all these state debts. The funds of the trust will be used for financing measures for restructuring or reorganizing these enterprises, and a clear-cut program must be submitted for each of them. For this trust under the Ministry of Economics a consultative organ will be created with the participation of foreign specialists. Now the Ministry of Economics is completing work on refining the list of enterprises operating at a loss, after which they will single out enterprises to be included in the rehabilitation trust. If it is impossible to improve the enterprise even through the plan of the rehabilitation trust, it will be eliminated.

Additionally, for the longer-range future there is the intention—and negotiations with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) are now underway—to create a fund for restructuring which will also work with 30-40 enterprises that are insolvent but important to the economy. Preferably, the fund will operate according to this schema: For the state package of shares in the enterprises, bonds will be issued which will be bought by the EBRD, and these funds will compose the authorized capital of these enterprises. Kazakhstan will have to buy the bonds later when the economy is established.

The agency for reorganization of enterprises under the Ministry of Economics will be a state organ specializing in this problem which coordinates these transformations, and will also include those enterprises that do not fall under the patronage of the trust and the fund.

Additionally, we expect help from our legislators in resolving the nonpayment problem—if we had a strong law on security, many of our current problems would have been solved naturally.

[Makhmudov] Bazarbay Bakhytovich, with the plan of measures for the first quarter the government intends to eliminate 10 enterprises. Which enterprises are they?

[Zharmenov] The Ministry of Economics drew up such a list, but now we have been forced to revise it since some of the enterprises are among those that impact the development of cities and others could not be eliminated immediately for various other reasons. This will be the lot only of those that are not significant to our economy, that have been put up for auction repeatedly by the State Committee of the Russian Federation on the Administration of State Property and have not found new owners. A new list of these enterprises will soon be ready.

[Makhmudov] One of the ways of solving the nonpayment problem is to develop circulation of bills of exchange, and it is being looked at in the government.

[Zharmenov] Several plans are now being considered for introducing bills of exchange into circulation, in particular the version of Kazkommertsbank, which might be introduced preliminarily on a local level. if it produces a positive result, it could be used on a large scale as well.

## Religious, Ethnodemographic Status Viewed

*954F1744A Almaty PANORAMA in Russian No 10, 11 Mar 95 p 3*

[Article by Berik Abdygaliyev of the Kazakhstan Strategic Studies Institute of the Office of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan: "The Creation of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan Aims at the Long-Term Stabilization of the Ethnopolitical Situation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kazakhstan is a unique state in terms of its ethnodemographic composition and diversity of religions and cultures. According to data of the State Committee for Statistics for 1994, Kazakhs in the total population of the republic constituted 44 percent, Russians, 36 percent, Ukrainians, 5 percent, Germans, 4 percent, Tatars, 2 percent, Uzbeks, 2 percent, Belorussians, 1 percent, Azerbaijanis, 1 percent, Uighurs, 1 percent, and other ethnic groups, 4 percent.

The ethnopolitical situation in the republic has been calm thus far. A decisive factor of the existence of interethnic stability in Kazakhstan is the absence of mutual ethnophobia. According to the data of a public opinion poll conducted by the Information and Analysis Center of the Supreme Council in the summer of 1994, 28.7 percent of respondents evaluated interethnic relations in the republic as friendly, 41.8 percent, as tranquil, and 21 percent, as not always friendly. Only 2.5 percent of those polled evaluated relations as tense and conflict-prone.

It is other factors that are a cause for concern: The experience of conducting debate and discussions on this matter of national policy or the other is practically absent from society. An upsurge of ethnic self-awareness is taking place today, and an aspiration to a critical reassessment of one's position in the structure of Kazakhstani society is growing.

For a number of reasons largely connected with specific features of Kazakhstan's historical development, the ethnic factor plays a big part in the social life of the republic and exerts an appreciable influence on the course of socioeconomic and, particularly, political processes. This conflict or the other in society is invariably projected onto national relations, frequently acquiring an ethnonational coloration. Their regulation presupposes the development of a set of instruments that makes it possible to respond appropriately to a change in the situation and to employ the weapons that are available in the arsenal.

Understandably, the role of the state both in the actual evaluation of the situation and in the elaboration of the forms and methods of the regulation in Kazakhstan of interethnic relations in the transitional period is so significant. The accomplishment of the task of the establishment of a certain balance and the maintenance of equilibrium between individual national groups and their enlistment and integration in the management of the affairs of society and the state—all this requires the application of a broad set of organizational and legal means and the creation of a particular mechanism in public law. Such a mechanism could accomplish both purely preventive tasks to forestall and avert tension in interethnic relations and regulate and resolve disputes and conflicts that have already arisen.

Special bodies providing for the participation of representatives of national groups in organs of state power and administration are created in some countries for the enlistment of the national minorities in the management of public and state affairs. The system of representation, if seen in the context of interethnic relations, is not only a possible form of the maintenance of equilibrium in society but also a means of the protection of the national minorities. In this respect the edict of the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan "On the Formation of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan" as a consultative and advisory body is highly opportune.

The need for the creation of such a body for consultation for the organs of state power in polyethnic Kazakhstan is obvious. The Assembly is to safeguard and represent the cultural, social, and economic interests of the peoples of Kazakhstan. The members of the Assembly are to represent the main political views of the national groups, and their opinion is to be heard in the preparation of legal directions and plans affecting their interests. The Assembly is to have the right to submit proposals aimed at an improvement in the situation of national groups and their representatives and to present them on its own initiative to state bodies, private institutions, and other organizations. It is essential to provide in legislation of the republic for mandatory consultations of the organs of state power with the Assembly at the time that matters affecting national groups are being considered.

Interethnic relations are undoubtedly influenced by how appropriately and promptly the state authorities respond to the requirements of the ethnic groups. The practice of interethnic relations shows that an insufficiently flexible policy of the central and, particularly, the local authorities could lead to the emergence of focal points of tension in the country. The Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan is to be a means of the organizational and legal regulation of interethnic relations, which should contribute to the smoothing over and easing of interethnic relations. It should have also an important role in the elaboration and implementation of measures to assist the representatives of individual national groups.

The structure and competence of the Assembly should invariably reflect the specifics and singularities of the interethnic relations that exist in the republic. It is essential, in my view, to create under the auspices of the Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstan a commission for the observance of legality and law and order in the sphere of interethnic relations. It should be endowed with wide-ranging functions, from the investigation of complaints of discrimination through the elaboration of recommendations for the government and parliament on the coordination of activity in the sphere of interethnic relations.

The commission's activity should be geared to influencing the behavior of the person or body that has perpetrated discriminatory actions and to compelling it by legal means to alter its behavior and policy and to rectify the situation that has arisen.

The commission should have the right to independently conduct an investigation of facts of acts of discrimination. It is essential also to create under the auspices of the Assembly a body for permanent dialogue between representatives of the national groups that live on the territory of Kazakhstan. Such a body would make it possible to synthesize the opinion of the national groups on specific problems, which would facilitate the determination of priorities of nationality policy.

The efficiency of these measures is not as yet sufficient for removing the strain in the ethnopolitical situation in the republic, of course, but this is conditioned by the general level of development and the unresolved state of the serious socioeconomic problems confronting Kazakhstan.

## Geologist Says Oil, Gas Deals 'Calamitous'

*954F1740A Almaty EKSPRESS-K in Russian 10 Mar 95 p 5*

[Article by Professor Saduakyas Kurmanov, chief geologist of the mining and chemical complex Geofizika, doctor of geological and mineralogical sciences, USSR State Prize laureate: "To Whom Is a 'Shelved' Karachaganak Advantageous?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The same thing that happened to Tengiz has happened to Karachaganak, only a somewhat worse version. Both found themselves in the pocket of Western contenders, not as the result of an objective, competitive struggle, but as the result of a behind-the-scenes deal. Therefore, the new proprietors of the deposits have no strict liability or specific obligations. For this reason, operations are not under way there.

Whereas Tengiz was presented to Chevron individually, Karachaganak fell into the hands of the alliance British Gas—Agip as a result of tender manipulation. Only two pairs of companies were permitted to participate in the competition for acquisition of Karachaganak: British petroleum—Stat Oil and British Gas—Agip. The winners of this purely symbolic and intimate competition were the latter pair. As the entire Kazakhstan press reported in concert at that time, British Gas—Agip acquired the exclusive right to exploitation of the Karachaganak deposits. Incidentally, the losers were not offended either. A few months later they, like the winners, were brought in honored fashion into the international oil consortium of seven companies, which was presented—also without any problem—the no less tasty Caspian Sea shelf.

Thus, for over two years now, Karachaganak has belonged to the alliance British Gas—Agip.

Just as was the case with Tengiz, as of the moment of transfer to foreign partners, Karachaganak was in an operating mode. The Soviet Union had spared no money for development of Kazakhstan's reserves. Had British Gas and Agip been required to conduct operations from the very outset, judging from their present approach to the resolution of emerging problems, God only knows whether or not they would have gotten things under way at all. In short, as of the moment of transfer of the oil field, the main expenditures had already been made, and a suitable return was guaranteed.

According to local specialists, the winners of the competition never did actually begin operations over this period. No funds were allocated for development of the oil field. Nothing was done to provide Kazakhstan itself with Karachaganak gas. The foreign partners restricted themselves to organizing seminars, symposiums, and meetings oriented on revising the calculated deposit parameters to support a decrease in oil and gas reserves recorded on the balance sheets.

Begun during the Soviet Union era, exploitation of these deposits continues with difficulty. Extracted output goes to Orenburg to the gas refining complex, then farther into Russia, apparently in payment for gas and oil obtained from its other regions, as well as to support the vital activity of the numerous parasite offices that breed around Karachaganak.

Judging from foreign published materials, development of these unique deposits is taking place without the necessary in-depth scientific and design research and technical support. Not even reverse injection of dried gas is being effected, and as a result formation pressure is falling.

The fact is that Karachaganak, like Tengiz, is connected with a huge carbonate reservoir, with a single linking hydrodynamic system. In addition, it is not so much a gas field as it is an oil field—and not an ordinary one, but rather one of extremely large scale.

The quantity of liquid hydrocarbon reserves extracted here amounts to just short of 1 billion cubic meters. The condensate factor in the gas is very high. As a result, the latter is separated out into an independent phase with a slight change in the hydrodynamic situation. If this process takes place, it is almost impossible to extract the condensate along with the lower-lying oil- bearing portion of the deposits.

At the same time, the formation pressure in the field is irreversibly depleted. "As of today, half our operational wells have formation pressures lower than the norm." (KAZPRAVDA, 19 Aug 94). This can lead to serious consequences—loss of tremendous amounts of condensate and oil. The amount of loss may approach two-thirds of the reserves of liquid hydrocarbons in the field.

In order to prevent this, it would be advisable to immediately conduct a cycling process (reverse injection of the dry gas separated from the condensate).

Unfortunately, this is not being done and no steps are being taken in this direction. According to available information, the companies British Gas and Agip have no intention of engaging in this demanding work. Perhaps this is precisely why they dragged out signing the contract and beginning operations in the field, so as to definitively establish the process of separation and precipitation of the liquid phase at the facility. Thereby presenting the Kazakhstan community with a fait accompli and burying more than half a billion tonnes of condensate and oil.

In the meantime, about 40 billion cubic meters of gas and over 20 million cubic meters of condensate have been extracted since the beginning of exploitation of the field (1985). This has already destroyed the equilibrium in the interior. Moreover, during the process of drilling out the formation, there have been repeated instances of prolonged, open discharge. In 1991, for example, Operational Well No. 321 flowed freely for more than four months. Similar discharge was observed at other wells. No one kept an accounting at that time as to what quantity of hydrocarbons was discharged and burned up. To what extent did this decrease the formation pressure? What volume of gas should have been pumped into the field in order to restore the lost equilibrium?

Generally speaking, according to the originally prescribed operating procedure, gas should be injected from the moment development is begun, insofar as according to the developmental design of the field, the volume of injected gas should exceed the volume of extracted gas from the outset. Alas, this is not being done, and the field is in such a critical state that it may be ruined at any moment.

Special hydrodynamic studies should have been conducted. Upon discovery of symptoms of condensate precipitation in the interior, gas extraction should be halted, extraction of only the liquid phase should be effected, and the dried gas should be injected back into the formation.

In 1991, when the republic itself began to "command" Karachaganak, the field should have been transferred to the jurisdiction of oil people, insofar as extraction of the liquid phase must be a priority matter. Only after this task is accomplished should efforts proceed to exploitation of the gas portion of the field. The gas production enterprise should be reconfigured into an oil-production enterprise, so that it does not aggravate complications related to intensive production. Unfortunately, our proposals at that time went unheeded by those who controlled the destiny of Kazakhstan's oil and gas. On the contrary, the gas production enterprise became more solidly entrenched at that time, since the gas concern Kazakhgaz had appeared, on the footing of a republic ministry, and now transformed into the state holding company Kazakhgaz. It operates in a frisky way, exploiting the field with extremely gross violations.

From all appearances, the Kazakhstan side has adopted a plan at its own initiative for developing the field without engaging in reverse injection of dried gas (without any cycling process), thereby consenting to the burial of more than half a billion tonnes of the liquid phase. This being the case, claims made against foreign partners are unjustified. Officials of the Oil and Gas Industry Ministry must bear the responsibility for this squandering.

There exists no well-thought-out program for efficient use of the small portion of liquid hydrocarbons extracted. At an international seminar held last summer and at the Oil-Gas '94 conference, directors of the holding company Kazakhgaz and the heads of the Oil and Gas Industry Ministry propounded the theory of transporting Karachaganak condensate along the Uzen-Samara oil pipeline to the city of Atyrau, i.e., to the future Tengiz export oil pipeline, then on to Novorossiysk.

At the same time, condensate—a valuable product—is easily refined. To supply it for export, mixing it with crude oil, constitutes squandering. In addition, it contains sulfur and mercaptan. The latter may present serious problems for transportation of the crude, as happened in Tengiz. It would be more advisable, therefore, to refine it locally, establishing an oil and gas chemical complex.

Thus, the problems and complications at Karachaganak (especially those related to the extraction of liquid components) are no less significant than at Tengiz. Neither the government nor the oil and gas department knows exactly, apparently, how to surmount them. Foreign companies decided, for the joint exploitation of Karachaganak, to involve Gazprom, which had previously been moved aside. They thereby returned the matter to its initial position of three years ago.

In all likelihood, however, they have not yet been able to reach agreement with the Russians. The essence of disagreement mainly comes down to share of future profit. Kazakhstan was therefore compelled to reach a separate agreement with Gazprom, thereby giving up a significant portion of its share to the latter in order to save the situation. Even after this, British Gas—Agip required two to four years to work out all the lines of cooperation with Gazprom....

Precious time was lost as a result, and the field incurred serious damage over the ensuing three years. Equipment became outdated and worn out, and the expected export shipments were not deemed critical. As a result, the economic situation of the republic was aggravated. Fifteen percent of the share of income was sacrificed. Now its partners will have not 20 percent, as previously arranged, but 35 percent—significantly greater than the reasonable limit for such transactions.

Kazakhstan's oil doctrine (in particular, the project for exploiting unique Karachaganak) has turned out to be bankrupt. It has suffered defeat in every aspect.

The attraction of investors not on the basis of economic advantage to the state, but rather for entirely different considerations (which in addition to Karachaganak occurred in Tengiz, Kenbay, and other facilities), is turning into a calamity for Kazakhstan, since the interests of the state, as a rule, remain outside the interests of individual leaders and the people around them.

## Linguist Sees Need for Foreign Vocabulary

*954F1684A Almaty PANORAMA in Russian No 9, 4 Mar 95 p 6*

[Interview with Professor Shora Sarybayev, department chief of the Institute of Language Studies and corresponding member of the Republic of Kazakhstan National Academy of Sciences, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "We Should Not Be Afraid To Assimilate Elements of International Vocabulary Into the Kazakh Language"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Doctor of Philology, Professor Shora Sarybayev, department chief of the Institute of Language Studies, corresponding member of the Republic of Kazakhstan National Academy of Sciences, and a Distinguished Scholar, talks about negative trends towards purism in the Kazakh language.

[Correspondent] Lately, as specialists began to pay close attention to the development of the Kazakh language, in pursuit of purity attempts are being made to translate untranslatable terms and notions. Is this true?

[Sarybayev] In the 1920's, when international terms of Russian and European origin flooded our language, there was no such movement as purism. This is the so-called common inter-language fund whose words are used without translation. It is another matter that their usage must conform to internal laws of pronunciation of a specific language, and they must be transcribed in order to fit harmonically into speech.

Before 1917, borrowed words were assimilated into the Kazakh language precisely according to this principle of pronunciation norms. For instance, *yarmarka* [fair] is pronounced as *zharmenke, general—zhandaral, krovat [bed]—kereyet* and so on. However, beginning in the 1920's, when we began to accept international terms into the language, a rule appeared in keeping with which borrowed words were written and pronounced in the Russian version. This was a negative phenomenon.

However, before deciding the question of spelling and pronunciation, it was necessary to decide to what extent borrowing particular words was necessary. To this end, in 1934 a terminology committee was set up. The task was to search for exact equivalents for such terms in the language. However, gradually the terminology committee stopped fulfilling its original functions. Because the committee stopped regulating the process of adopting new words or translating new notions into the native language, chaos ensued. The mass media is particularly guilty of the wordmaking sin. One and the same word is translated by some or used as is by others. And now we, as linguists, have encountered a mass manifestation of purism, that is, an excessively restrictive desire to keep the language pure, and attempts to take borrowed words out of usage.

The concept I support boils down to this: If the language has a definition that precisely corresponds to the foreign word, there is no need to borrow it; but if there is no equivalent, we should not get carried away by excessive wordmaking. I agree that translation of such Russian words as *samolet* [airplane] and *vertolet* [helicopter] is possible. But we have to treat international words with great caution. Especially in our times, in the environment of a market economy and the course toward integration, it is necessary to facilitate, make easier, communication between representatives of the more than 100 countries that have recognized Kazakhstan. We simply need to recognize the usage of certain international terms. If we begin to translate words such as *business, manager*, and so on, we will push ourselves into a corner, isolate ourselves. I consider such a process of purifying the language regressive. Because all of Europe, all Turkic-language countries already have accepted such terms without translation. You can already see in newspapers published in Kazakh poor translations of words *telefon* and *telegram*. On top of that, several versions of the same word come into existence. Different mass media use their own translation. We, as linguists, are being accused of contributing to linguistic chaos by doing nothing. Now a special commission has been set up, of which I am a member, which is reorganizing the terminology committee, which had been attached to the Committee on Languages. Its final composition has been decided.

In order to make the work of the terminology committee easier, a group a linguists put together the first volume of the Zhana Ataular edition, which included new words. The second volume has already been prepared. This is not a guide for action. After these words are studied, some of them will be included in the normative vocabulary of the language, and other, inferior, we will reject.

As to translation, the word *cinema* has been translated into Kazakh as *kinoger*, and the word *hypothesis* is translated as *kozemel*. The word *restaurant*, which is accepted everywhere in the world, we for some reason translated as *meyramkhana*, which literally means *amusement establishment*. This is not a precise equivalent! There is no question that this word will establish itself in the language: Many artificially created words become familiar with constant use. This is not the point. We have to factor in modern conditions of international integration. Even in such countries as China and Japan, which are very conservative with respect to their native languages, one can see a wave of words borrowed from English and French languages.

We have to admit that Kazakhstan's history is unusual. It was oriented towards Europe for more than 100 years.

And terms of both European and Turkic origin have long established themselves in the Kazakh language.

In the entire world, linguists see the inclusion of borrowed words in the vocabulary as enrichment of the native language. That is why I cannot understand why it is considered a cluttering of the language here. We have to be aware that there are a great many borrowed words. And if we start searching for equivalents to all Latin terms, including those used in science, tomorrow we will have supporters of translating Arabic words into Kazakh. Then we will have to reject existing norms such as *kitap* (book), *denter* (notebook), and *kalam* (pen). I believe that fighting for this kind of purity is pseudo-patriotism.

At the international forum on topical issues of terminology, which was held in the fall of last year in Ankara, I proposed to set up an international terminology committee which would regulate the norms of all 32 languages in the Turkic group. And if, for instance, Uzbek linguists propose a translation of some word, then the international terminology committee will decide whether the translated word will be included in all Turkic languages or if there is no need for translation, and then the existing version will stay. The proposal was supported, but the final decision has not yet been made.

Language has a lot of problems. The question to deal with now is whether to switch to a Latin alphabet. Turkey and Azerbaijan already use a Latin alphabet, and Uzbekistan is planning to do so. I also support such a switch. We could, of course, switch to using the Arabic script, but does this make much sense? Most Turkic-language countries are accepting the Latin alphabet, while others have historically used it. The advantage of the Latin alphabet is that it undoubtedly will have a positive effect on foreign language studies.

Yes, the Kazakh language is experiencing serious problems. But we should not jump to extremes. When we proclaim transformations, for some reason we accomplish them in a revolutionary or fundamental way. But one cannot experiment with language the way one does in biology, chemistry, or economics.

## Kyrgyzstan

### World Bank Holds Seminar on Poverty Among Women

*LD1603125795 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 1000 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives from the World Bank held a scientific practical seminar on the topic: Support for poor women in Kyrgyzstan. The Ministry of Agriculture and Foodstuffs' press service reported today that the main attention of the seminar is focussed on the social position of women who live in rural areas. The seminar's organizers have already prepared grants worth $500,000 to support poor women in the republic. The distribution of the grants was discussed at the seminar which was attended by representatives from various ministries and departments.

### Kyrgyzstan Joins Internet Computer Network

*LD1703095995*

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 0410 GMT on 17 March transmits a short report datelined Bishkek 17 March that Kyrgyzstan has joined the Internet computer network. The report says that there are currently 350 subscribers in the republic able to use the Internet. They include local organizations and international organizations accredited in Kirgizia.

## Tajikistan

### UN Envoy Concerned Over Central Asian Drug Production

*LD1603215395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, Mar 16 (Interfax)—The growing production, trafficking and consumption of drugs in Central Asia is a cause for serious concern. "A real threat has emerged that the region may become a kind of Asian Columbia if complex measures are not immediately taken to solve the issue," the regional director of the U.N. program for drug control in Central Asia, Arkadiusz Magszyk, told journalists in Dushanbe Thursday [16 March].

Magszyk emphasized that he assigned much importance to the development of a Central Asian treaty on mutual understanding and cooperation in the issue. He hoped that all Central Asian leaders will sign the document in September or October 1995.

According to Magszyk, there is a potential threat that the amount of drugs trafficked through Tajikistan will rise significantly, followed by the sowing of wider areas with drug-containing plants and the increase in local drug consumption.

The U.N. office was aware of two important drug-trafficking routes through Tajikistan, one from the Gorno-Badakhshan district center Khorog to the Kyrgyz city Osh, and the other one from Fedzhikent in the north of Tajikistan to Turkmenistan and Russia through the Uzbek cities Samarkand and Urgut.

Magszyk remarked that the U.N. was ready to assist Tajikistan and other Central Asian states to develop anti-drug legislation, as tentatively agreed on during his meetings with the Tajik leadership.

The U.N. official hoped that Tajikistan and other Central Asian states will soon create commissions or committees to monitor the fight against drugs.

## Opposition Claims Russian Troops Smuggling Drugs

*LD1603132895 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0325 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Russian border guards have asked for assistance for their stay in Tajikistan. The Moscow newspaper MEGAPOLIS EKSPRESS published an article in which the Russian border guards asked for assistance from the executive committee of Perm Region in Russia. [passage omitted]

What an article! The kind of writing which, after reading or listening to, makes one pity the poor border guards and be moved with compassion. But if one is unaware of the reality of the situation and does not suppose that these helpless border guards are stationed many thousands of kilometers from their borders, what made them come to the back of beyond to do their military service—and voluntarily at that? What is the reason that not only officers but also soldiers who completed their military service many years ago are now signing contracts and even lining up to go to the Tajik-Afghan border? What is it that draws them to this place? Of course all these questions have their answers.

When the conflict started in Tajikistan, everyone was aware that both sides of the conflict suffered greatly from a shortage of weapons and other military equipment. But soon the two sides possessed not only pistols but also tanks and guns. Where did the sides get hold of all these? Surely from those aforementioned so-called helpless Russian military servicemen. Yes, they sold [weapons] and the local residents bought them. This is the first reason that tempts the Russian servicemen to serve in Tajikistan, that is, the sale of military arms and equipment and also robbery and plundering of people's homes during conflicts.

One cannot help but remember the recording of a telephone conversation. An officer from the Russian regiment situated in Kurgan-Tyube city is talking with his wife who is in Dushanbe. The wife says: Thank God we now have a car. Let us go home, to Russia. But the husband says: Are you stupid? You saw my colleague send three containers back home. I am no better than him. Shall we return with only a car?

This conversation, which should touch the heart of any one with any honor, is clear proof of the first reason, the reason for the Russian forces staying on and their ranks being replenished by the minute from the reserves of volunteer mercenaries.

On the other hand, the beginning of the war in Tajikistan and the weakening of its internal and foreign border opened another way for Russian servicemen to earn money. A more covert way was to smuggle narcotics. This is another reason that caused the intensified efforts of Russian servicemen to serve in Tajikistan.

According to information from the annual report of the Tajik Security Ministry's department for fighting drug smuggling, last year the transfer of opium and hash from the mountainous border regions of Tajikistan to the capital of the republic was done using aircraft and helicopters of the Russian armed forces stationed in Tajikistan. [passage omitted]

These two means of income, these two ways of gathering wealth in stricken Tajikistan, are the reasons that draw in Russian soldiers and officers. These two reasons cause the Russian military personnel to do what they can to prevent the establishment of lasting peace and tranquillity in Tajikistan.

Certainly it would be a mistake to think that these two factors are the main reasons for the Russian forces remaining in the republic, ignoring other factors like the show of superpower qualities and Russian efforts to maintain its domination in the region and its intention to own Tajikistan's underground and overground natural resources. But one must not forget that these are issues that are discussed and planned at a higher level in the Kremlin halls. Our story is about the ordinary Russian soldiers and officers, those soldiers and officers who remain in the republic despite material and technical difficulties. There are two main reasons that have lured these Russian servicemen to Tajikistan, not what the author of the article mentioned above described, that is, not the military oath and the sincere carrying out of their duty.

## Border Commander Cites Escalating Opposition Moves

*LD1603212995 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[Mikhail Nikulin report; from the "Vremya" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the relative calm of winter, the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is heating up once again. In the first 15 days of March alone, six attempted armed border crossings have been prevented and 19 border-violators have been detained. Four border posts manned by Russian border troops have come under fire; twice they have had to join battle with armed units of the opposition.

[Begin recording] [A.Chechulin, commander of border troops in Tajikistan] As before, the opposition is banking on armed confrontation with the authorities of Tajikistan. It is counting on and preparing for large-scale actions to seize the Pamirs. We have specific data on the intentions of the opposition to carry out coordinated actions in the Pyandzh area within the next few days. [end recording]

These facts are only a prelude before the spring-summer large-scale offensive. According to military intelligence, shootouts are taking place within the ranks of the armed opposition and these have already led to a split; but in principle, this does not change anything in the strategy or ideology of the opposition.

## Uzbekistan

### Foreign Ministry Explains Referendum

*LD1503190795 Tashkent Uzbekistan Foreign Ministry Press Service in Russian 15 Mar 95*

[Press release from the press service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan]

[FBIS Translated Text] At present, Uzbekistan is facing a crucial and difficult period of state construction. The process of forming institutions of authority inherent to any civilized society is underway, namely legislative authority, represented by the Supreme Assembly, judicial authority, and executive authority headed by the president who, in accordance with the Constitution, is simultaneously the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers.

As is known, the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan was elected by a national vote at the end of December 1991 for a period of five years, that is until 1997. The present parliament—the Supreme Assembly—was elected in December 1994 and January 1995 with authority until the year 2000.

1. On the basis of Article 98 of the Constitution, the composition of the Cabinet of Ministers is formed by the Uzbek president and approved by the republic's Supreme Assembly. In accordance with this article, the Cabinet of Ministers resigns before a newly elected Supreme Assembly.

Thus, if such a position remains, the government must be formed three times over a short period: The first time was when the government was formed when the president was elected in 1992 (the president began to carry out his duties in January 1992); it must be formed the second time after the election of the new parliament in January-February 1995, and a third time after the presidential elections in 1997.

The disparity in terms of offices of the two branches of authority—legislative and executive—under present practice may continue forever, and excludes the opportunity to form an integral system of authority. Such a situation may lead to contradiction and confrontation between various institutions of authority and may have a negative effect on the sociopolitical situation, interethnic relations, and the implementation of democratic reforms.

2. This contradiction can be resolved another way. That is by making an amendment to the present Constitution—removing the regulation on the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers before parliament. However, if we go along that way this, undoubtedly, will reduce the authorities and powers of the parliament elected by the people, that is, the Cabinet of Ministers formed by the president will practically be outside the control of parliament.

In order to avoid this situation the republic's parliament made the decision to bring into line the procedure for forming each branch of authority by extending the term of the republic's president until the year 2000 through a national referendum.

Such a measure in no way contradicts the republic's Constitution or the Law on Referendums.

We think it necessary to draw your attention to the following clause.

If presidential elections were held in 1997 then, without any doubt, Islam Karimov, taking into account his supreme authority and popularity among the people, will be elected head of state for a second term of office, that is until 2002.

However, taking into account the situation that has arisen, if the decision of the national referendum on extending his term of office from 1997 until the year 2000 is positive, the head of our state intends to consider and legitimize this decision as his second term of office as president of the country. This issue will also be submitted to parliament for approval. As is known, the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, according to the Constitution, can be elected only for two terms of office.

### Official on Why Karimov Mandate Must Be Extended

*LD1603182995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1533 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Parliament Speaker Erkin Khalilov and Presidential Spokesman Murad Mukhammad-Dost appeared at a news briefing in Tashkent on Wednesday to explain why President Islam Karimov's powers must be extended until the year 2000.

Uzbekistan will have changed governments much too often if the existing legislation is followed, Khalilov said. Under the Uzbek constitution, the cabinet is formed by the president and approved by the legislature; but it also binds the government to step down once a new parliament is elected. The government appointed by Karimov after presidential elections in January 1992 was replaced after last month's general election and a new one is imminent in two years' time when the next presidential poll takes place.

Khalilov said it was impossible to form an integrated government structure as the legislature's term of office was at variance with that of the executive. This in itself, he said, could lead to a confrontation between different government institutions, make a negative impact on the social and political situation and ethnic relations and hamper democratic reforms. To avert this, the new parliament must readjust the procedure of forming all government branches and call a referendum to extend Karimov's powers until the year 2000. He said this would not be out of line with the constitution or the referendum law.

The two men said that if he won the poll, Karimov would legislate this as his second term in office (The constitution bans any one to hold the president's office for more than two terms in a row—IF).

Therefore, Karimov's agreement will be tantamount to his second term being cut by two years, the two officials said. Given his high rating on the ground, Karimov will have won the 1997 election to stay in office until the year 2002, they said.

### President's Greetings to Trade Union Congress

*LD1603153095 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 1000 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Tomorrow the 15th congress of Uzbek trade unions will start its work in Tashkent. On this occasion President Islam Karimov has sent greetings to the participants. Now we will read the text of his greetings:

Respected participants and guests of the congress, activists and veterans of trade unions, the greetings say.

Your congress is being conducted in an important period of our country's social, political, and economic development. The principles of renewal and development, corresponding to our national traditions, historical experience, and features of the country are being deeply developed in independent Uzbekistan along the road toward creating a democratic market-economy, law-governed state, and civil society. This road aims at implementation without social shocks and without impoverishing the population, and that is why it is giving results.

The most popular social organizations that unite millions of workers—the trade unions—take an active part in this life-giving work of renewal. They consider their main duties to be active participation in solving the most topical tasks of objectively guaranteeing the social rights and the interests of workers and achieving a guarantee for the practical implementation of labor legislation and self-management, and they are gaining respect among our population. Of course, it is becoming clearer that the organized implementation of such noble tasks demand that the trade unions use the appropriate methods of work during the transition period and renew their methods of work on the basis of the experience of developed world trade unions and of our national traditions.

As I wish success to the work of the 15th congress of the trade unions of Uzbekistan, I heartily congratulate you on the 70th anniversary of trade unions! Let health, cheerfulness, enthusiasm, and courage be with each of you in your work.

President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov

## Armenia

### President Signs Military Base Agreement in Moscow

*NC1603212495 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] An Armenian official delegation headed by President Levon Ter-Petrosyan arrived in Moscow today for a working visit. State Minister Vazgen Sargisyan, State Minister Armenak Ghazaryan, Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan, and Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan were in the delegation.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin later met Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan in the Kremlin. During the meeting, the leaders of the two countries examined the state of bilateral ties and the prospects of their development, ways to consolidate the CIS, and issues relating to the resolution of the Karabakh conflict. It was underlined that the interests of Armenia and Russia demand active pursuit of the peacemaking process. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, Vazgen Sargisyan, Vahan Sargisyan, Serzh Sargisyan, and head of the Armenian president's staff Shahen Karamanukyan took part in the meeting.

Afterwards, an agreement on the Russian military base on the Armenian territory was signed at a ceremony. With their signatures, Presidents Yeltsin and Ter-Petrosyan ratified this important document, which is unprecedented in the interstate relations of the CIS countries.

The republic's president and officials accompanying him returned to Yerevan this evening.

### Zhirinovskiy on Benefits of Russian-Armenian Ties

*NC1603182995 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1511 GMT 15 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 15/03/95 NOYAN TAPAN—On March 14, the Yerevan "AZG" daily published an interview of its Moscow correspondent with the leader of the Russian Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Zhirinovskiy defined the Transcaucasian region the following way:

"First, this region is a place, where the interests of East-Slavonic and Muslim worlds as well as the interests of the West-Christian and Muslim worlds clash; secondly, the Kurdish question; thirdly, the opposition between Turkey and Russia; fourthly, it is the Southern flank of NATO, purely military side; fifthly, the opposition between Turkey and Iran for obtaining an influence in this region; next, the opposition between Turkey and all Arabian world in person of Saudi Arabia; sixthly, the oil interests and at last the Armenian interests. This region is the most dangerous and politically charged one, where too many interests clash. That is why wars often occurred here: Both Russia and Turkey, the English and the Persians were at war here. This is the region of eternal opposition. Americans are not able to ensure stability here. If Russians pull out of this area, it will turn into a new Afghanistan. Bandit groups will fight against each other. If Turks intervene there they will annihilate everyone. Remember, how Turks came over to Minor Asia, barbarously captured Constantinople and plundered, massacred and conquered peoples, who lived there, how they massacred one and a half million Armenians over three nights. Who will pay for Byzantine culture and cruelty against Slavonic nations? Turks harmed the mankind as much as Nazi Germans did. Nazi regime sent 50 million people to death, and 17-million Turkish people exterminated one and a half million Armenians. The proportion is equal. However, fascists were tried, but Turks have not been punished by anyone. So, it appears that Armenians can be exterminated, since they are a minor nation. As to extermination of the English, French and Russian peoples, someone will have to face a trial in this case. Thus, Russia has a historic mission.

"Of course, Bolsheviks let us down. But for them, we would have had the Yerevan and Tbilisi provinces and everything could have developed in another way. But today the situation prompts us to return to an old version. And here, Russia's interests require support to Armenia and Kurds."

Asked, what did he mean by "Russia's support to Armenia" Zhirinovskiy replied: "It will be to our advantage to have a Christian ally, which will be obliged to us for our help in restoration its historical boundaries. On the whole, I think that Armenia must occupy territory between Black and Caspian Seas. But this is a minimum. Armenia can have an access to the Caspian Sea through Julfa-Lenkoran section and thereafter to the north - to Baku. Armenians has the right to take back Mt. Ararat, Kars, Ardahan and by this get an access to the coast of Black Sea in Samsum-Trabzon section. And after the establishment of a Kurdish state with the capital in Diyarbakir, Armenia will have an access to Mediterranean via Mersin. Of course, Ankara will be a little dissatisfied. In the long run, Turks came to Istanbul from the side, where currently Tashkent is situated and Tashkent can become a place where they can return again. This is their homeland. Or they will stay where they are now. But they must oppress Armenians and Kurds." [previous sentence as received]

According to Zhirinovskiy, Russia should help Kurds create their own state on the Turkish territory, but not in Iran or Iraq, since by establishing Kurdistan within Turkey they will gain sympathies of Iran and Iraq. He said: "It is difficult to us to oppose to these three states at once. Stalin's mistake was that after the World War II he did not punish Turkey, who sided with Nazi Germany. But now Turkey can become a scapegoat of the region. Defeated Turkey is an old desire of Kurds, Armenians, Iran, Iraq and Russia. Turkey is backed up by America merely because of the stand-off with Russia. Besides, Turkey has other enemies, namely, Greece and Balkans. Turkey is surrounded by enemies, but at the same time has panturkic ambitions and is seeking to establish Turan. No country has similar ambitions.

"Political games which will be to the advantage of Armenians, Kurds and Russia can be played later in this region."

According to Zhirinovskiy, the Karabakh conflict emerged as follows: "In 20's Bolsheviks decided to concede this region to Azerbaijan, so that to gain sympathies of Azeri communists," Zhirinovskiy said. "The same way Khruschev conceded Crimea to Ukraine and half of the Siberia to Kazakhstan."

"Today Mountainous Karabakh should be an independent subject of the international law. It is possible to give it back to Armenia. Already before the demise of the Soviet Union, I stressed that Moscow's resolution needed to reunify Armenia and Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh]. Nakhichevan should be also returned to Armenia, since Nakhichevan is an artificial Azeri enclave within Armenia's territory. As a matter of fact this is genuinely Armenian land. Azeris were a Persian tribe at the time when Turks were coming from the East. They made those Persian tribes Turkic. Who are Azeris? Tribes, which were living on the coast of the Caspian Sea.

"The historical justice must be restored. But as it can result in war, another version could be suggested: the principle of division into provinces, which will exclude ruling by national authorities.

"Today the West can make profit from quarreling Russia with the South - Muslim and Arabian region. It can exploit wealth and seize the major part of this region. It is a new type of colonial war. For us it is better not to quarrel with them, but come to an agreement, since we have a mutually-complementary economies and mutually-beneficial trade. However, no bullets whistling in the West. Their soldiers do not have to go to the front line, all dirty work is done by others. Iranians battling Iraqis, Armenians - Azeris, Abkhazians - Georgians, etc. Peoples are set against each other, they are warring, and they are supplied weapons, different commissions on human rights are operating," Zhirinovskiy said.

Zhirinovskiy expressed an opinion that the role of Gorbachev in Russia's History can be compared with that of Nicholas II, both brought the empire to collapse. The same parallel Zhirinovskiy draws between Yeltsin and Kerensky, who by their hesitation exacerbated chaos.

Zhirinovskiy is confident that he is to perform the role of Lenin, namely he is destined to restore order. According to him, the same is predicted by astrologists.

## Union Leader: Russian-Turkish Agreement Must Be Annulled

*NC1603200095 Yerevan SNARK in English 1535 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, March 16 (SNARK)-—According to the "Union of National Consent," the bloc of five opposition parties of Armenia, Russian-Turkish agreement signed on March 16, 1921, which resulted in territorial division of Armenia, must be annulled. A leader of the Union of National Self-Determination-Christianokrats (UNS-C), Paruyr Hayrikyan, on behalf of political organizations included in the bloc, stated about it today at the meeting with Emergency and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of Russia to Armenia, Andrey Urnov. Mentioning the direct connection between signing of this document in 1921 and appearance in further such autonomous republics in Azerbaijan as Nagorno-Karabakh and Nakhichevan, Paruir Hairikyan noted that this agreement had been signed between Turkey and bolshevik Russia, and does not affect present relations between democratic Russia and Armenia.

"The Union of National Consent" appealed to Russian Ambassador to hand a letter to the Russian President, Boris Yeltsin, were the attitude of opposition parties towards this problem is represented.

Appreciating the Union's position in the problem on necessity of further strengthening of Armenian-Russian relations, Andrey Urnov reminded that an agreement on Russian military base on the territory of Armenia is to be signed today on high level in Moscow. "This is the evidence of fact, how much Russia and Armenia need each other," noted the Russian Ambassador.

## Situation Reported Calm on Azerbaijan Border

*NC1603212395 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] It looks as if the Azerbaijani side is taking a brief rest following the intensive shellings of recent days. The Defense Ministry press service reports no incidents along the whole Armenian-Azerbaijani border since last night. Also no incidents were reported in the Karabakh conflict zone. This was reported by the press service of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Defense Army headquarters.

## Report Says Armenia To Restore Nuclear Power Plant

*NC1603162595 Yerevan ARAGIL ELECTRONIC NEWS BULLETIN in English GMT 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan ("LRAGIR" daily), 03/16/95—"The right for opening or closing down the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant belongs to Armenian authorities alone," said RA [Republic of Armenia] Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan.

He added that "no IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] has the right to allow or disallow us to open or not open the nuclear power plant". Speaking in the Supreme Council yesterday, Bagratyan declared that Armenia is the first country in the world to restore the nuclear power plant, which has been shut down. "Notably, we did 99 percent of operations ourselves, with 75 percent of our own financing." Bagratyan also mentioned that, because of economic conditions, everything is being delivered by air.

"First, we will physically operate the plant," Prime Minister said. "Then, depending on behavior of the reactor, a decision will be made about its energetic operation or not operation."

## Azerbaijan

### Reportage, Commentary on Unrest in Azerbaijan

#### Baku TV Reports Aliyev's Speech

*NC1603132695 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 0600 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[Speech by President Geydar Aliyev in Baku on 15 March— recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed fellow countrymen, sisters, and brothers; good evening. I wish to address you through the television network to share some of my views with you on the situation in our republic. Our people and republic are observing the fourth year of our state's independence. Spring has come and we are on the eve of Novruz, our great national festive occasion. Undoubtedly, each and every festive occasion creates happiness and rejoicing. I am confident that the Novruz we will observe in a few days will bring happiness to our people and nation.

However, our problems are many and we grieve extensively. A state of war has existed in our republic for more than six years. We have lost some of our people during that time. We have had martyrs. We remember our martyrs at this time. We pray for them. Before I say anything else, I wish to remember all our martyrs who fell in the defense of Azerbaijan's independence and territorial integrity. I pray God to bless their souls.

Our people had significant and painful experiences in the war that has continued for more than six years. We are experiencing a very serious development at the present time. Several positive changes recently took place in our republic. It can be said that we have had several achievements. However, they are not many. In general, a serious social and economic crisis exists in our republic. As the president of Azerbaijan, I am worried by the situation of more than 1 million refugees. I am also worried by the situation of those who have been disabled in the war and those who live under serious economic conditions. All that touches me and urges me to carry out more serious work.

One of the important developments in our life is the cease-fire agreement we have achieved. We have maintained the cease-fire for more than 10 months now. Exchanges of fire and bloodshed have not taken place in the front lines for more than 10 months. We have not had martyrs and mourning has ended. I am confident that the lengthy lull in the war, which has been continuing since 1988, is a significant gain for our people. We are making an effort to appropriately use that opportunity. Our objective is to end the war through talks, liberate our occupied territories through peaceful ways, and maintain our republic's territorial integrity. All that is common knowledge. Explaining our objective in detail again is unnecessary. We have been able to reach a cease-fire agreement as a result of our appropriate, serious, and principled policies, including the policy we maintain in our foreign affairs and the constructive and principled approach in our relations with Armenia. That has created many opportunities for us to find a peaceful solution to the problem.

You will recall the resolution that was adopted in the Budapest summit in December 1994. It is of historic importance for Azerbaijan. It called for the establishment of a multinational peacekeeping force by the CSCE. It also called for stepping up the Minsk Group's work, the appointment of two chairmen for the Minsk Group, and drawing up an agreement for peace. Significant work has been carried out in that field since December 1994. Talks and contacts have been held. The Minsk Group will meet in Stockholm and Vienna in the next few days. Our representatives are already working there. We have held talks with the presidents of the influential countries. We also have held talks with their representatives and the heads of diplomatic missions. However, you are already aware of all that. You have been informed from time to time.

You also have been informed on my recent visit to Copenhagen in Denmark. An important meeting was held in that city. It was important for the future of humanity in the world. The UN Organization arranged it. It was related to the effort that is required to resolve the social problems in the world. It was a significant summit, which was attended by the heads of state and government leaders. The UN Organization has not held a meeting at that level in its 50-year long history. The summit was important for each and every citizen and people in the entire world. I attended that great forum and informed the world on the Azerbaijani people's views, our republic's situation, and our requests and demands. You have been informed by the press that we held many talks with several presidents and heads of government. The main objective of my talks was to strengthen Azerbaijan's position in the international domain, inform the foreign heads of state of the realities in Azerbaijan, publicize our republic, outline the opportunities in Azerbaijan, and improve our republic's relations with foreign countries in order to further open Azerbaijan to the outside world. I believe that my talks in Copenhagen will constitute a new step in our policy and I hope that they will yield positive results.

Undoubtedly, my talks focused on the removal of the state of war in Azerbaijan, the solution of the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and our republic's objection to Armenia's aggression. We made an effort to inform the world again that Armenia has attacked Azerbaijan, occupied a part of its territory, and created more than 1 million refugees. I believe that I have used the opportunity I had in the summit to convey all that to the international community.

I returned to Azerbaijan overnight on 12-13 March. I planned to leave for Pakistan on 13 March, for a meeting in Islamabad, a traditional meeting, one that is very important for Azerbaijan. It deals with economic issues and is attended by the heads of state of 10 Islamic countries. Yes, that summit is also very important for us, and I had to attend it. I had views to outline and there were issues that had to be discussed. Regrettably, the situation in our Republic, a situation on which I will explain my views, prevented me from leaving for Pakistan. That is very regrettable, because the summit is very important for Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, a delegation from our Republic is attending it.

Considering the first quarter of 1995, I can say that we have carried out serious work in various fields in addition to the effort we made to resolve the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, including Karabakh, and remove the state of war in our Republic. I said early in January that 1995 must be a year of significant change in Azerbaijan. We must resolutely work to realize every democratic principle in 1995. We must effect reforms in the economic field, state construction, and social life. We must step up our effort to adopt the market economy system through democratic initiatives. Some work has been carried out in that field and what has been achieved is obvious.

Everyone knows that our objective is to adopt the market economy system. Undoubtedly, that is not easy to achieve. Our economic system has been based on the concept of a socialist economy for over 70 years. Replacing it with the market economy system is difficult. It cannot be achieved in a day or a month. The process has been continuing for several years. But we have not yet achieved results. Nevertheless, I am convinced that we will achieve the expected results soon. So, we must realize several reforms. We must realize economic reforms. Much work has been carried out in that direction. You know that we debated the need for reforms in the Republic's agrarian domain for several months. Committees were established and talks were held in various places. A Republic-level meeting was held on the issue and draft laws were drawn up. I studied them repeatedly and held talks with the committees. Finally, I submitted two important draft laws to the National Assembly. They were approved. I have signed them and they have been put into effect. Reforms in the agrarian field mean the improvement of the kolhozes and sovkhozes [as heard; collective and state farms]. A state committee has been established to facilitate the reforms. It is working now. Rayon [district] committees have been established in the relevant areas. Committees have also been established in urban areas. Agrarian reforms are being realized in practice and I believe the process will be very beneficial.

Financial issues must be considered extensively and rearranged in the effort to adopt the market economy system. You will recall that I issued several decrees to liberalize prices, establish parity among foreign currencies, and reorganize financial procedures to comply with international standards and the requirements of the market economy system. We have had many problems. You will recall that the rate of inflation jumped significantly during the last few months of 1994. That was not unexpected. Naturally, the measures we effected were expected to create that situation. Significant damage has been inflicted on our Republic, not only by Armenia, but also by other forces. They are in our Republic and abroad. They have harmed our economy and social and political life. We have taken measures to obstruct them. Some stability has been established in our financial system. The value of the manat against the dollar has remained unchanged for over three months. The minister of finance informed me today that the parity of the manat against the dollar has increased 80 points. That indicates that the manat is strengthening. All that can be described as a very important and positive development in our economic life. But that is only the beginning. We must maintain that trend. That can be achieved through reforms in every field in the Republic.

The process of privatization must be used to facilitate the reforms. You already know that we have established a committee for that purpose. I have reinforced the committee on estate ownership and replaced its chairman. The chairman of that committee has also been appointed deputy prime minister. That has further strengthened his authority. The committee has submitted several draft projects. We held an enlarged meeting on 7 March. We debated the issue for nearly eight hours. I proposed that the people be briefed on our talks by the television network and the media. The people must be informed about the issue, which concerns the privatization of state property. That is a change in the structure of ownership. The property that is owned by the state was created through the efforts of the people. The people created that economic potential. It belongs to the people. So the people must benefit from the process of privatization. Every citizen must have his share. That must be the basis of our economic development. It must link our economy with the world's economic system. That is how we can have a place in the world's economic system.

I believe the meeting we held on 7 March was very important. I have asked the committee to draw up and submit its program on privatization in 30 days. It will be studied and then conveyed to the National Assembly. A debate will be held on it before I approve it. I am convinced that we are progressing with courage and faith. Every citizen must benefit from the reforms. They must have their share in the state property through the process of privatization. I assure you that I will see to it that that is done. I will work to safeguard the rights of every citizen, as I have done in the past.

However, social and political measures also have to be taken to implement serious changes in our lives and improve our democracy. I already said that we have done a lot to build up our state. One of the most important initiatives we have taken is aimed at holding parliamentary elections in accordance with democratic procedures. I am convinced that parliamentary elections must be held in September or October 1995. The necessary conditions must be created for holding the elections in a fully democratic atmosphere. Undoubtedly, an election law is required for that purpose. I believe that the draft law that we have at present must be improved. The draft law we will submit to the people must create a good basis for the establishment of true democracy in our republic. That is my approach and I will use every opportunity to realize it. In short, I wish to stress that the draft election law will be debated in the near future and preparations will be made for the elections. And new parliamentary elections will be held in September or October.

Undoubtedly, the necessary conditions will be created for all the political parties to take part in the elections. The necessary conditions will be created to enable each and every citizen to vote freely. I wish to stress that each and every citizen must freely benefit from the right to vote and to be elected. Undoubtedly, our elections will be open to the entire world. International organizations have appealed to us and we have appealed to them. They will help us. And, so will the countries with experience in various democratic domains. We will benefit from their help. We will invite observers to our elections.

We need a new and democratic constitution in order to be able to establish democracy in our republic. A constitutional committee has been established. I am the head of that committee. Several draft constitutions are being drawn up. We already have a few in hand. I hope that the Constitutional Committee will study them in the near future. The people will discuss which one best suits our republic's national and historic traditions, present situation, and its immediate and distant future. I am sure that our people will take an understanding approach and not spare the effort that will be required of them. So, we will approve independent Azerbaijan's democratic constitution for the first time in our history. That is only a part of the work we will carry out in 1995.

However, there is also work to be done in other fields; reforms must be realized in other fields. Reforms must be realized and laws must be enacted in the judicial domain, the educational field, and other domains. We are working on all of them.

You are aware that our foreign policy was very active throughout 1994 and in January and February 1995. We have established close relations and signed agreements with the most influential countries in the world. I have held talks with the leaders of almost all the influential countries. I have embarked on official visits and held talks with international organizations. All of this has strengthened our republic's international position. I have already informed you of the talks I recently held in Copenhagen; this trend will continue in the future. I have been invited to many countries. Meanwhile, I have invited many heads of state to visit Azerbaijan. We will carry out significant work in that regard and I believe that Azerbaijan's international position will be strengthened.

Regarding the republic's economy, I wish to stress that we have to use our domestic resources and try to increase production and reactivate our economic potential. Undoubtedly, that is essential, and we are working in that direction. However, more problems have been added to those we already had to deal with. The war is a problem. The existence of more than 1 million refugees is another. Meanwhile, the railways, highways, and air and other links between Azerbaijan and Russia have been blocked for six or seven months. Our border with Russia has been closed. I said in the past that Azerbaijan has sustained very serious economic losses from the closure of its border with Russia. Our economy is linked with Russia and with the CIS and European countries through Russian territory. Our economic and industrial sectors are closely integrated with those in those countries. Our ties to that integrated system have been broken. We need several types of transportation to restore them. They, too, have been hit and destroyed. We have sustained significant losses from the closing of the borders, railways, and highways.

I appealed to President Yeltsin on this matter some time ago. As I informed you earlier, I appealed to him during the talks we had in Almaty. I held talks with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin in Copenhagen. We held extensive talks on various issues, including opening the border without delay. I was informed yesterday that Prime Minister Chernomyrdin instructed his deputy prime ministers on the matter after he returned to Moscow. We are now in touch with them and are now taking measures to do the necessary work.

Meanwhile, we have to use our domestic resources and try to benefit from what the international organizations can do. The aid the Council of Europe has given to Azerbaijan and will give to our republic in the future is very important. We have decided to acquire 300,000 tonnes of wheat from the Council of Europe. We have already received a certain amount of that. I wish to make it clear that the bread that we have in the republic at the present time is made from flour we ground from the wheat we received from the Council of Europe. Furthermore, we have received a few thousand tonnes of edible oil and 2,500 tonnes of meat from them. This can all be described as the Council of Europe's material aid to our republic and it is in the form of a grant.

Meanwhile, the Council of Europe has provided our republic with a credit of up to $80 million. We have used $25 million of that amount to acquire pharmaceutical drugs and provisions, including the material we need for bread. All that contributes to our republic's economy.

The world humanitarian organizations have consistently helped our refugees. I have appointed one of the deputy prime ministers as my representative on humanitarian issues. Izzet Rustamov is carrying out serious work in connection with the aid we receive from international organizations. They will continue their aid.

Meanwhile, we cooperate extensively with the IMF and the World Bank. They have made statements in connection with the aid they can give us to help us switch to a market economy and to carry out reforms. They have made specific conditions, which we have already complied with. Talks have been held; in 1994 I held talks with the European Development Bank in Davos and in Britain. I held talks with World Bank officials in New York. Meanwhile, I held talks with IMF officials. Several IMF representatives have visited Azerbaijan and I also held talks with them. The IMF has decided to extend credit to Azerbaijan. I am convinced that it will make a loan of more than $70 million in April. Meanwhile, the European Development Bank has decided to extend a credit of more than $60 million for the construction of the Yeni Kend Hydroelectric Power Plant. Furthermore, they have decided to loan more than $40 million for the water supply network in Baku. Undoubtedly, all these can be described as steps to resolve Azerbaijan's economic and social problems. This is the result of the work we have done. That state of affairs has laid a very important basis for the future. We will continue in that direction.

A contract was signed on 20 September for the extraction and sale of Azerbaijan's oil. It has already gone into effect. The oil consortium has allocated more than $100 million in accordance with that contract for the work that will be done in 1995. The work has already begun. I held talks with Mr. Perry Adams, head of the consortium, before I left for Copenhagen. He informed me that they will achieve more than they expected. For example, we have a platform at the Chirag oil field. The use of that platform by the consortium was included in the contract. Plans were made to use it for 18 months to extract the first oil in that area. However, the work that has been carried out indicates that oil will be extracted sooner. In other words, the contract is in effect. The parties to the consortium have moved with enthusiasm.

It is true that Azerbaijan paid a very high cost for the construct. We had casualties [itkiler] and we were subjected to significant pressure. However, we resisted it. We continue to do so at the present time because we are still being subjected to pressure. Nevertheless, the contract is in effect and will continue to be so. It will provide significant gains for Azerbaijan's future, but that is not all. We have many rich oil fields in the area that is under Azerbaijan's jurisdiction in the Caspian Sea. We have the Shahdeniz, Karabakh, Nakhichevan, and other oil fields in that region. The largest oil companies in the world are in Azerbaijan at the present time. The presidents of the largest oil companies visit our republic from time to time. They hold talks with me and ask my opinion. The officials in Copenhagen also asked my opinion on various issues. They asked for my opinion in Davos and Budapest. They wish to cooperate with us. I wish to say that the largest companies in the world respect Azerbaijan and have confidence in our republic. They wish to cooperate with us. We are willing to cooperate with them. We are holding talks to jointly exploit the oil resources I have mentioned. I am confident that new contracts will be concluded. They will create significant opportunities for the improvement of Azerbaijan's economy.

It must be stressed that the initial royalties from the oil contract will be used to boost our currency and this will make a significant contribution to our economy. It is true that we have problems. However, there are positive developments both now and for the future. That is why I am fully confident that we will resolve the serious situation in the republic, conclude a great agreement for peace, and retrieve all our occupied territory. Meanwhile, I am also fully confident that the refugees will return to their homes.

Regrettably, we are facing harmful activities both at home and abroad while we make an effort to resolve our serious problems. We have been subjected to pressure from abroad, one of the objectives of which is to limit Azerbaijan's independence. I have said several times that, as president, I have worked to safeguard Azerbaijan's independence in the past. I wish to inform my fellow citizens today that I will continue to do so in the future. No country, be it large or small, can get anything by pressuring Azerbaijan in order to limit our independence. I have confidence in the Azerbaijani people's determination in this respect; I have confidence in my own determination. The Azerbaijani people must always live in an independent country and determine their own future. Azerbaijan's natural resources and nature, the Azerbaijani people's intellectual resources, and Azerbaijan's economic potential allow our republic to exist as an independent country. That will permit us to safeguard and maintain our independence.

In addition to pressure from certain external circles, you have observed the incidents that have been caused by certain people in Azerbaijan who wish to strike at our republic's independence. Those who tried to stage a coup in October 1994 have fled to Moscow. Those jailbreakers have gone to Moscow. Those who fled earlier have also gathered in Moscow. However, I am not blaming Moscow or Russia as a whole. I merely point out where they have gone. They are not concerned about Azerbaijan. They have revealed that they are prepared to sacrifice Azerbaijan in order to achieve their personal objectives. We know that from the press reports. Ayaz Mutalibov and Suret Huseynov recently made a joint statement to [name indistinct] newspaper to the effect that they have established a so-called citizens' alliance. Is that a contribution to Azerbaijan's independence? They would promise anything to any country or government in order to achieve their objective. Yes, certain forces wish to disrupt and destroy stability in Azerbaijan.

Obviously, certain hostile circles in various countries are trying to strengthen Armenia's aggression, fragment Azerbaijan, and destroy our republic's independence. They are active in state offices and social and political circles. Regrettably, some of our people, including some of those who live abroad, support them. The conservative forces, which are determined to attack Azerbaijan's independence, have united because they see that Azerbaijan has existed as an independent country for four years. They have seen Azerbaijan resist the pressure on it and steadfastly maintain its position. Yes, they have observed the Azerbaijani people's determination. That is why they plan to destroy us from within our republic. That is why they have set certain forces in motion from time to time. They realize that significant economic changes will take place, the people's prosperity will increase, development will be achieved through democracy, economic reforms will be realized, elections will be held, a new and democratic parliament will be established, and a new constitution will be put into effect to create an auspicious future for Azerbaijan if we succeed in realizing our program in 1995.

Certain forces in our republic and abroad wish to obstruct all that. They wish to obstruct all that and they resort to disgusting ways to do so. They set in motion certain forces to achieve their objective from time to time. They tried to stage a coup in early October, but they failed. But, they did not give up. They claimed in the newspapers that a coup would take place in 10 or 15 days. They claimed that a coup would take place during Novruz. Regrettably, our opposition forces have exploited all that. They have not been able to realize that the opposition groups will be worse off than at present if Azerbaijan's independence is undermined or if Azerbaijan is fragmented. That is a regrettable situation. However, certain forces in our republic still wish to disrupt Azerbaijan's social and political stability.

The international economic and financial centers, influential countries, and large international companies have sent representatives to Azerbaijan. Our republic has opened up to the world. Foreign investments have been made in our republic. Undoubtedly, Azerbaijan can develop. However, they wish to obstruct all that. They intend to do so by disrupting social and political stability. Obviously, the foreign companies will not invest in our country if stability is disrupted in one way or another. They will not cooperate with us. They do not wish to operate in Azerbaijan for only a few years. They hope to operate for 20, 30, or 50 years. They hope to cooperate with us for their own interests. That is a requirement in international economics. The hostile forces realize the changes that will take place in 1995. That worries them and they have decided to resort to disgusting ways to disrupt these changes. They wish to disrupt our social and political stability. Nevertheless, I am confident that our people will not allow them to achieve their objective, regardless of how threatening they may be. In fact, that is one of the highest moral characteristics of our people. I am confident that our steadfast forces will not allow them to achieve their objective. We will advance in the direction we have set for ourselves and reach our objectives.

Nevertheless, I wish to say clearly that certain forces have gone too far. They have resorted to criminal activities with the hope of disrupting the social and political situation in the country.

Two hours ago I received the U.S. ambassador, at his request. He, too, feels uneasy. He said: You are making a strenuous effort to establish peace with Armenia. We, too, want peace to be established. In fact, we are trying to help you in your effort. We hope that peace and security will be established. However, this effort will be unsuccessful if stability is disrupted.

Obviously, I agree with him. The United States and its representatives share my views. Regrettably, certain forces have ignored all that. They care only for their own objectives, interests, and disgusting intentions. They do not realize that they are trying to fragment and destroy the republic. No, they do realize that, but it is not important to them. They live in another world.

Considering all that, I wish to outline everything clearly today. Certain forces have rebelled and moved to disrupt stability in the republic during the past few days. Two brothers, Rushen Javadov and Mahir Javadov, seem to be their leaders. They have used the OPON [Special Purpose Police Detachment]. They tried that in the past. However, they themselves were used as instruments by certain forces. They realized their situation and we forgave them. However, they have rebelled again. Why have they done so? What do they want?

I wish to say clearly that Rushen Javadov was one of those who tried to stage a coup in early October 1994. He influenced several OPON members and cooperated with Suret Guseynov. That was the beginning of the coup attempt. They occupied the procurator's office and acted unlawfully, beat up the republic's prosecutor, and vandalized the building that houses the Procuracy. They then moved on to the second stage of their coup attempt. I appealed to the people, but they rallied to support us. Rushen Javadov realized that he would not achieve anything. Talks were held with him for two days. I always wish to hold talks before I act. I like to use peaceful methods. However, he failed to attend those talks. He promised to do so, but failed to attend. However, he attended the talks when he observed the people rallying in the square. He then claimed that he supported the Azerbaijan Government. He claimed that he supported the republic's president. In fact, he addressed the rally. That was very good. However, both I and everyone else were aware that he was the leader of the activities at that time. His activities and Suret Huseynov's behavior in Ganja were linked. There are witnesses to prove that Javadov called Sabkhanov in Ganja from this building to inform him that he had halted his activities and urge him to do the same and support the president. Yes, all those developments are linked.

Javadov approached me and we held talks. I considered the fact that he is a young man and that he had made a mistake. I forgave him. Maybe I broke the law to a certain extent. The criminal investigation into the incident in the Procuracy has continued. I suggested that we shelve the matter because the person involved had realized his mistake and so should be forgiven. I forgave him and the people welcomed that. Later, I invited him to hold talks. I also invited Minister of Internal Affairs Yusupov. I suggested that they should cooperate and forget the incident.

We had many problems, the most important of which was Armenia's aggression. Strong forces wished to fragment Azerbaijan. So, we had to refrain from clashing with each other. We had to forgive certain things. Allow me to say that I have forgiven many things. In fact, several officials say that Aliyev is a different person than he used to be in the 1970's. They say that I did not forgive anything then and was more inflexible, serious, and shrewd. However, they agree that I am moderate and forgiving now. Well, there are reasons for that. We are living in a democratic atmosphere. A significant difference exists between the former state structure and the present structure. I wish to heed democracy. As a person who has introduced democratic principles to Azerbaijan, I wish to make concessions for the sake of democracy and for the establishment of peace among the people. I wish to make concessions for the sake of the establishment of security and unity among the citizens.

I believe that the main criminals involved in the incidents in October—that is Suret Guseynov and his colleagues—were aware that they would be brought to account. So they fled. Nevertheless, a group of them was arrested. Some 170 people were arrested. Why should 170 people be imprisoned for attempting to stage a coup? Some 30 prominent colleagues of Suret Guseynov have gone into hiding. The majority of them are in Russia. Why should that be so? Why should they be away from the republic and why should 170 other people be imprisoned? Was all that necessary? Work should have been carried out instead. The people's problems had to be resolved. Unfortunately, they were unable to realize that because they were occupied with disgusting activities aimed at furthering their intentions. I am very sad at that state of affairs. It was within my sphere of competence to discipline them, but I was unable to do so. That is regrettable.

They will suffer now. Those who live in Moscow will not be aware of anything. But they, too, will suffer. Justice will be done and they will be punished. I believe that.

Rushen Javadov has moved to take action again. He recently made several statements here and there. Who was he? He was the deputy minister of internal affairs. So, his activities should have been limited to the bounds of his duties. He was the deputy minister of internal affairs but he did not work in accordance with the requirements of his post. He was concerned with other things.

Let us consider the OPON organization. It was established in 1990. It was known as the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] during the era of the former Soviet Union. The OPON was established to defend Azerbaijan against Armenian aggression. It was established on very sound principles. Rushen Javadov was not the one who established the OPON. Those who established that organization did so on sound principles. Those units have fought. They have had martyrs. They have entered the history of the people. I bow my head before their martyrs.

However, I cannot blame the entire organization. There are young men in that organization who are loyal to their people and state. Rushen Javadov and Mahir Javadov, who had no links with that organization from the point of view of their duties, led that organization. What kind of leadership was that? They only wished to use that organization for their own purposes. They corrupted several members of that organization. Rushen Javadov was cautioned several times. He was cautioned after the incidents in October that he should correct his behavior and encourage several OPON members to do the same. We cannot afford to lose one of our men with every step we take. However, Javadov occupied himself with politics instead of concentrating on his work.

We have a law forbidding anyone who is employed in the state organs—that is in the law enforcement organs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs—from getting involved in politics or being a member of a political party. However, Javadov made statements here and there. He created confusion in the republic. How can the deputy minister of internal affairs not be subordinate to the minister of internal affairs? How can he refuse to follow our internal rules and regulations? How can he act like that? How can he refuse to comply with the laws? Who gave him the right to behave like that? If a concession is made, then you should learn from it. No one can benefit from a concession if he later decides to act in a more disgusting way. So, Javadov intensified his criminal activities. That is why several OPON members got involved in criminal activities. Many of them have been sent to prison over the past four or five months. Their activities are being investigated.

The OPON group in Kazakh [district] was always involved in criminal activities. They occupied a part of [word indistinct] in that area. We received information that 60 people had settled there. That cannot be allowed to take place on the front line. Our military forces and internal units guard our front line. If they are required to maintain internal law and order, then they must heed the instructions of the minister of internal affairs. However, they have cooperated with the Mafia groups to promote their own interests. They have carried out criminal activities from time to time. One of the members of the OPON in Kazakh, who is known as Elchin, has always been involved in criminal activities. I must admit that we have made several concessions and avoided taking their behavior seriously in order not to worsen the situation. However, they have become more aggressive. In fact, they are now convinced that they can act any way they wish. They believe that they can even stage a coup.

I returned to Baku on the night of 12-13 March. I did not go to bed because I had to prepare for my flight to Pakistan. I received a call at 0400. I was informed that the OPON group in Kazakh had occupied all the government organs. A similar situation prevailed in Akstafa. Clashes took place and there was bloodshed. I took action on the matter. The police administration in Kazakh district was completely occupied. They seized all the arms in that administration. They occupied the building of the district executive authority and evicted the head of that authority. They occupied the building. Furthermore, they seized the communication systems. The situation in Akstafa was similar. The police resisted them in Akstafa and there was bloodshed. A police official was killed. They also had casualties. Then they began to get organized to occupy Tauz and Ganja.

We wished to find a peaceful solution to the problem. We dispatched First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Zahid [last name indistinct] and Isa Sadykov—a leading official of the Ministry of Defense—to hold talks. We asked Rushen Javadov to hold talks with the OPON group in Kazakh. They held talks but nothing was achieved.

They seized five armored cars from the Army. They came and occupied the Jevanshir-Desteran settlement between Akstafa and Tauz. They completely occupied the place, established posts, and let no one in. They began running the place. Still, this problem had to be solved peacefully. I do not know what Rovshan Javadov did there. He went there and directly returned to the OPON base here [in Baku]. Our representatives held talks there repeatedly. They were told that the circumstances of their crimes will be elucidated later. They were told: Now you return the arms and go back to your places. Let your base remain in Kazakh. But they did not go back to their places and did not return the arms. Finally, last night they promised to hand in their arms at 0900 the following morning. At that, our own men asked us to be patient until 0900. At midnight they attacked our military unit in Tauz. Naturally, the military unit retaliated and a fight ensued. They were entertaining the great illusion that they were engaged in a coup d'etat and that they were launching an attack from this region in a manner similar to the attack launched from Ganja to Baku in June 1993. They were routed during a night of fighting. They were routed. Our heroic and brave fighters there retaliated and recovered the five armored cars. Over 49 of them have now been imprisoned. This OPON unit included 50 to 60 people. Now they [the remaining OPON members] are distributing the seized arms to various people there. It is not clear in whose hands these arms are now. Some 50 people have now been imprisoned.

These people shed blood during the fighting. It was they who shed the blood. Four of our young soldiers died. But they died heroically. They died while defending Azerbaijan's statehood, independence, and Constitution. May God bless their soul. Their struggle will not be forgotten. The State will greatly appreciate the services of those who heroically destroyed that bandit unit last night. I openly declare this.

They [the OPON members] have now fled and scattered here and there. I was told that they want to cross into Georgia. These clashes were going on in places 5-6 km from the Azerbaijan-Armenia border. They entered a border town there in an attempt to hide. Today I telephoned Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze and, upon my request, he immediately issued instructions, and I was informed in the evening that two of those who fled into Georgia had been detained and were being returned to us. Later, I sensed that these people might also violate and undermine the cease-fire there, because nothing is sacred for them. Nothing is sacred for them; they are murderers and criminals. Today I telephoned Armenian President Ter-Petrosyan and consulted with him. He assured me by saying: I understand all these things; we are monitoring the events in Kazakh Rayon and you can rest assured that we will adhere to the cease-fire regime and will allow no provocation.

See the things that occupy us.

They [the OPON members] came, wanting to occupy Ganja and Tauz [word indistinct]. Rovshan Javadov went to the OPON and started gathering forces there yesterday. He issued statements and announced that he will stage a coup d'etat, demanded the resignation of the president and of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and threatened that, if they refuse to resign, they will achieve their aim by force, kill the president, and start a civil war. But they had already started the civil war. They, Rovshan Javadov and his unit, are guilty of the bloodshed. In recent days they have been gathering criminals at OPON's base at 8th Kilometer [a location 8 km from Baku]. Imagine, in our grave conditions, instead of providing military training to the youth, they are encouraging them to commit crimes. They are distributing arms to them. They want to challenge the State. They attacked the Nizami Rayon police stationed there. The Nizami Rayon police force checked that attack, displaying heroism. Two policemen were hurt. Again blood was shed, this time around, in Baku. They first shed blood in Akstafa and Kazakh, then came to Baku and shed blood. One of the attacking OPON members was also killed. Maybe he was innocent and wretched. Let God bless his soul too. He too is one of our citizens, he too is a citizen of the Azerbaijani president. People like Javadov are guilty of goading him on the path of crime. They are guilty of all that bloodshed. Now they are gathering forces there and are issuing statements. It is clear that some opposition and agents are going there; statements are being issued to the world, telling countries that stability in Azerbaijan has been disrupted and ties with Azerbaijan should be cut off. Supposedly, talks are going on, yet see what harm they are causing in the meantime. For what, why? What is Rovshan Javadov's purpose? Who is he? He wants to be the head of the State. Lately, they brought me his statement addressed to the world and read it. It says that once in power he will run the Republic jointly with the representatives of some parties.

Cursed be the day when the Azerbaijan people are led by frenzied people like this who play with the fates of the unfortunate and who amass fortunes by stealing the people's property and (?sucking) their blood. Our people would be very unfortunate to fall into such a situation. But this has not happened, although they think that the people have fallen to such depths. Throughout the history the people have had talented and popular leaders who emerged from the people and made an impact on Azerbaijani history. Now we have fallen into a predicament where inept people like Rovshan Javadov entertain such hopes. It appears that for them it is not enough that they have plundered Azerbaijan and its people, now they also want to impose themselves on the people.

Unfortunately, in order to grab positions some people support them. It is clear that there are some who are supplying them with arms; we have established this. Others want to do other things. But, none of their efforts will produce anything. Therefore, today I state: Blood has been shed in Azerbaijan as a result of the crime committed by the Javadov brothers and the criminal people under their protection and by those who have joined Rovshan Javadov's unit. There have been attacks on the administrative organs in Akstafa and Kazakh rayons. And, even today statements are being issued calling for attacks against Azerbaijani statehood and inciting a civil war.

I am sure that the Azerbaijani state and its state organs are ready to reply to all these attacks. And I am sure that the Azerbaijani people and citizens have finally realized that enough misfortunes have been heaped on the head of Azerbaijan. They brought misfortune on 20 January [during Soviet times] and many subsequent times. And finally, they brought misfortune last October. After the October incidents, tens of thousands of letters and cables were addressed to me from all the strata and regions of Azerbaijan supporting Azerbaijan's statehood and its president. They are still arriving. People like Rahim Gaziyev, Suret Guseynov, Ayaz Mutalibov, and some of people here in Azerbaijan such as Rovshan Javadov want to foment ethnic conflicts and clashes in Azerbaijan. These will not come to pass. You will remember I met with the Lezghin representatives some time ago. I am still receiving letters of gratitude from the Lezghins, as well as from all other groups.

I have already said and am reiterating today: Azerbaijan is a multinational state, a democratic state. Every Azerbaijani citizen is equal before the law, and Azerbaijan is the homeland of any citizen regardless of his nationality. And, I as the president, I have been and will remain the guardian of these principles. And, let no one entertain the hope of creating clashes between the ethnic groups. No group will clash with another, because our people have to intermingle; the entire people is Azerbaijani, they are Azerbaijani citizens. And I believe that the people's unity, their national unity, the citizens' unity and solidarity make it possible to emerge from all these difficulties and will help us in our work.

Now a situation has arisen whereby Rovshan Javadov is sitting at the 8th Kilometer and has gathered criminals around him. There are loyal and honorable Azerbaijani sons among the people at that base, that is, among those serving in OPON. I send them my regards. We know that they do not like and endorse Rovshan Javadov's ugly acts, but they are afraid to speak out. Rovshan's men are threatening them. They are being told: We will kill those who are not with us. This is the atmosphere existing there. We know all these things.

But I believe no honorable and earnest Azerbaijani should fear for his life. No one should fear for his own life. Everyone should render his services to our country and State. Undoubtedly, regardless of the amount of blood shed, I do not favor the continuation of this tension. On the contrary, I ask that they put an end to their criminal objectives.

Rovshan Javadov stated in various places that, purportedly, he wants to meet me. You know, I have a heavy workload. It is clear to society that my life is taken up by this work. I think everyone knows this, and I think there is no need to prove it. I have spent my life, until my last breath I will spend it, trying to extricate my people from this situation. I have little time to spare. There are many people, both abroad and here, who want to meet me. There are many people who want to meet me. Despite this, I said: Well, if it will please Javadov, I am ready to receive him. Turkey's ambassador here, the esteemed Altan Karamanoglu, was also very uneasy about things. He asked me to talk with Rovshan to find out what the problem is. I replied that we have always shown him respect and [words indistinct] is his trouble, let him come to me. Karamanoglu asked me to receive him. I replied: I accept. But my schedule was full. Later, the esteemed Karamanoglu telephoned me and this time round I gave a specific time, at four o'clock on 9 March, despite having to fly to Copenhagen at noon on 10

March and having lots of work to do. But Javadov did not arrive. What a lack of respect. Who are you? You are a mere deputy interior minister. Every instruction of mine is a law unto you. The Turkish ambassador asked this of me, I accepted, and set a time, yet he did not come; he refuses to come. He has illusions. I want to state that despite his guilt and lawless acts, I, an elderly person, apart from anything else, said: Let us talk so that I can hear the problems. But he refused, because he is living with grand illusions.

Some people gave him airs and incited him and organized [word indistinct]. While society is dying of hunger and people cannot survive, a (?feast) was held in honor of Rovshan Javadov. Those organizing such events to prepare him for this day must have been his enemies. Yet we are ready to forgive and forget them. Come and let us talk over your problem. But he pursues illusions. He makes even bigger demands in his latest statements. Despite all these, I must be the guardian of every citizen and show concern for every citizen. This is my duty. I have assumed this duty with the trust of the people. Therefore, this is my duty. And I am prepared to do anything to fulfill this duty. If today they put an end to their ugly objectives and lay down those arms, then, undoubtedly, I will pardon some of these criminals; I will pardon them.

That is, despite the current acute situation and society's loathing of Rovshan Javadov and the bandits around him, I want to [word indistinct]. The town of 8th Kilometer is a big town. Hundreds of thousands of people live there. I know residents there are fed up with the criminals in that OPON unit. They loathe them. They live in fear. They told me today that from time to time they raid a police department or rob a shop or ordinary people. [words indistinct] hundreds of people live in the town of Ahmetli. They too are fed up with them. What will we do? Will we violate the rights of hundreds of thousands of people for the sake of a small group, violate everybody else's rights for the sake of a group of criminals? What law allows this? Even God will not permit this. The law and an individual's conscience do not allow this.

Mahir Javadov [Rovshan Javadov's brother] committed a crime before October [1994; when Rovshan Javadov initiated a coup attempt, which failed]. He was removed from his post as public prosecutor. [Word indistinct] I am told that a group of 20-30 armed OPON members are posted in front of his house. Why? Wherever he goes, 25-30 guards follow him. Who is this man and why he is doing this? The OPON unit at his service is a unit belonging to a state organ. Why should it serve or protect Mahir Javadov? Why? Who is he? Why is Mahir Javadov accompanied by a group? Why do 15 guards accompany Rovshan Javadov, when a minister has only two guards? Some 25-30 people are standing in front of his house and guarding him. Why? What has happened? There are over 2 million people living in Baku. Are they not human beings? Are they not born of mothers? Are they not Azerbaijani citizens? Who will protect them? On what grounds and under what law should Mahir Javadov occupy such a position in society and do whatever he wants? Why should this detachment be in the hands and service of these two brothers?

I think the interior minister, General Usubov, gave an entirely correct order: First, because in general there is no need for this unit to go on functioning. There is no need for it. Second, many criminal people have gathered in this unit. Third, these criminals are being used for criminal purposes. The order clearly states, and I support and defend it, that the sound people in this unit who desire to serve the State will be given even better positions and will serve in the various regions and structures of the Interior Ministry and their rights will be protected. The criminals too could be pardoned if they assume responsibility for their crimes. But what is certain is that this situation cannot be maintained as it is. And I think that order was very correct.

I have long tolerated Rovshan Javadov's lawless actions for the sake of our overall work and national solidarity, but now, considering everything, I can tolerate them no longer. Today I issued a decree relieving Rovshan Javadov of his post as deputy interior minister. Henceforth Rovshan Javadov is no more a deputy interior minister, and there is no longer any OPON unit. Those in that unit are the employees of the Interior Ministry and the Interior Ministry will determine their posts within three days. But to be posted they should come to the Interior Ministry. They refuse to abide by this order. This order was issued yesterday but they are not submitting to it. Indeed, to ostensibly defend the OPON's honor, they are massing forces with the intent to wage a struggle.

You know that in Azerbaijan's history there have been various organizations and units. Similarly, the Special Purpose Police Detachment, that is, OPON, too has a place in Azerbaijan's history. Once it fulfilled its mission with honor. And no one has forgotten or will forget its historic service and position. But, at the same time, it is not possible to tolerate this situation. Both Rovshan Javadov and all those in that OPON unit should understand this.

I now appeal to our Interior Ministry employees inside the OPON unit at 8th Kilometer: Renounce your intentions, your criminal intentions, abandon this path, you are not on a correct path, move aside, the blood you shed and crimes you have committed are enough, move aside. And I offer: Whoever responds to my appeal let him leave that place and take his place in society and in the Interior Ministry.

I say in general and call on Rovshan Javadov specifically: Pull back from your criminal intentions, surrender. Arms should be handed in today, everyone should leave that place and return to their own place and surrender. You cannot play the role of state with the State. Azerbaijan has its state and a popularly elected president. I have often said and reiterate in these tense days: I will defend

Azerbaijan's statehood to my last drop of blood, and in keeping with the law will punish those who attack Azerbaijan's statehood. This must be understood. But I do not wish to punish anyone. I simply want no one to commit crime or betray the statehood. I want these things, and I make this appeal, and outline this path alone: I believe that Azerbaijani society will endorse this appeal of mine and the respectful people of Azerbaijan—elders and intellectuals—will endorse and assess my appeal. I believe the Azerbaijani people will join my call.

Toady again we are on the threshold of civil war. And this civil war has been openly declared by Rovshan Javadov. He is announcing it by shedding blood. In his statements to foreign and domestic correspondents he is announcing that they are ready to wage a civil war. I think such a thing would be a new tragedy for the Azerbaijani people. The Azerbaijani people have suffered enough tragedies in recent years. There is no need to add a new tragedy. Let such people renounce their personal ambitions, and let everybody unite to extricate the Azerbaijani people from this grave condition. I invite you all to do this. And I believe that the people's perspicacity and attachment to independence will extricate us from this situation today.

I appeal once more to OPON members located at 8th Kilometer and propose to them: Renounce all these intentions, lay down your arms, go to your homes and wives and your security will be ensured. Otherwise, the State's laws will be applied. Had the OPON members responded to our views last night and gone to their places they would have been pardoned and we would have extricated ourselves from this situation. But they became fiercer and madder and calculated that they would come and take Baku. They were scattered. Now Rovshan Javadov is telling the people around him that the Elchin-Kazakh OPON has already taken those regions and is moving this way. This is a lie. That unit has been scattered. I already told you that 50 members were imprisoned, two in Georgia, and the rest are being sought and all will be jailed tonight. There is no more OPON there. The rayon is functioning normally; complete peace has been established in Kazakh, Akstafa, and Tauz. There is complete stability in all the rayons and cities. Rovshan Javadov is saying that there is still Lenkoran. No, Lenkoran too supports the Azerbaijani president. I am getting telephone calls from every region today saying: We are defending Azerbaijan's statehood and backing the Azerbaijani president.

They then announce from there that Nakhichevan remained. My, my, Nakhichevan has remained. Nakhichevan is solidly behind the Azerbaijani president and statehood. Let them be assured. Rovshan Javadov disseminates rumors from this base alleging that he is supported by Sumgait and by everybody. In recent days his envoys visited the refugees from Kelbajar, Lachin, Kubatli, Karabakh, and from elsewhere. The refugees chased them away. And I am sure that many of the refugees are hearing me and know that I devote, and will continue to devote, my night and day to extricating them from their situation. I always see myself in those tents. Even in my sleep I think of myself lying in one of those tents embracing the refugee child. But they are now appealing to the refugees after robbing the people and making gains for themselves. What face is yours to appeal to those refugees? You have amassed that [word indistinct] property and arms by [word indistinct] people's blood, and now you want to use them against the people. I believe these rumors should be brought to the attention of the OPON members at the OPON base at 8th Kilometer. All these are rumors and lies. There is complete peace in all the regions, cities and rayons of Azerbaijan. People everywhere are ready to defend Azerbaijan's statehood; they are ready in Baku and everywhere else. Consider the realities. You must know that you are being deceived. I tell OPON members: They are deceiving you and you are being misled. I pardon you because you have been misled and deceived. But you must leave that place and lay down your arms. Otherwise, the law will be applied.

I believe the information provided by me today and my views enlighten Azerbaijani society and its circles. At the same time I want to express the hope that each citizen loving this land and homeland should ponder today: What situation is the homeland in and what is the citizen's role in this situation? It is not important if someone is in the opposition or follows a particular political view. There is political pluralism in Azerbaijan. Papers write whatever they want, the parties are functioning, and I guarantee that all the parties will take part in the parliamentary elections. I am personally giving this guarantee, I am giving this guarantee as the president. I believe that this is not a negligible guarantee.

Let no one exploit this confusion for his personal aims, because nothing could be achieved. Some wanted to achieve something on 4 October [1994] too. Nothing will be achieved. Come, let us put everything aside, and join our forces for the defense of our statehood and independence.

I call all the Azerbaijani people to national unity and solidarity. I am sure that millions will respond to my call. I am sure that the people will defend the Azerbaijani statehood and president. I am sure that the people, all the citizens, will express their loathing for these criminals. I am sure of this. Finally, I again call for the speedy surrender of arms at 8th Kilometer and for those there to return to their homes.

On the eve of the Novruz holiday, I wish peace, security, and happiness to Azerbaijani citizens, and express my personal respect for each citizen.

Ending my remarks I remember the Azerbaijani citizens killed in these times, God bless their souls. I wish peace and happiness to Azerbaijani citizens. Good night, wishing you happy days. Thank you.

### OPON Situation Said Under Control

*LD1603140795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1302 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 16 Mar—"The situation in the Azerbaijani capital is difficult but it is under control," Namik Abbasov, acting national security minister, told ITAR-TASS today. According to him, exclusively to avoid bloodshed for the time being the authorities are not taking resolute measures against the rebels from the recently disbanded special purpose police detachment [OPON] and criminal elements who have joined them. The talks with the rebels, which are now under way, pursue the same goal.

According to Abbasov, the rebels have taken up positions in a building in the town's major residential area. They have been sealed off by units of the national army. It would be madness on the government's part to shoot to kill in such conditions since this could lead to losses among the peaceful population, the head of republican security service stressed.

It is difficult now to forecast future developments, Abbasov went on. But I, for one, am convinced that the authorities will gain the upper hand in this confrontation, he stressed. Not only have we superiority in force but also the support of the population, which expects of the Azerbaijani leadership resolute actions against persons who have once again tried to upset the sociopolitical situation in the republic or, in other words, to carry out a coup d'etat, the acting national security minister stressed. The rebels do not enjoy support either in the republic's other regions or among the political parties and movements active in the republic, Abbasov remarked.

### Troops Surround Mahir Javadov's Home

*NC1603211895 Baku TURAN in English 1523 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 16) TURAN—"The criminal group of Mahir Javadov refused to disarm and after that the force was used against it," the Minister of Interior, Ramil Usubov, explained the reasons for the night firing. He said that "the criminals opened-fire and as a result of that several governmental soldiers were wounded. Presently the measures for the disarming of the group are taken," the Minister of Interior said.

At the same time, unofficial sources told TURAN that 7 soldiers from the governmental troops were wounded during unsuccessful storm of Mahir Javadov's house.

Several sources report that today the governmental troops intend to continue the attack on the house and seize Mahir Javadov. Javadov's wife and child are removed from the house. The neighbours of Mahir Javadov living on 2 Sabit Orujev Street told TURAN that at night their house was attacked by the military units with the armoured vehicles.

"There was firing through the whole night. We are in depression," one of the neighbours says. He also said that the governmental troops encircling the house advise the people living in that house to leave their houses temporary.

Mahir Javadov considers that the authorities prepare new operation aimed at seizure of his house. He says that the governmental units, which refused to attack the house at night, are replaced for another commandos, landing troops and policemen. "I and my supporters are forced to protect our right for life. We do not intend to open the fire. If we surrender, we will be annihilated. We are against the bloodshed, that is why the governmental troops must stop their operation," Mahir Javadov says.

### Opposition Leader: Aliyev Will Resign

*LD1603185195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is the latest report from the KHABAR-SERVIS agency: Javadov, the commander of the rebel forces, has succeeded in holding a brief news conference at his headquarters. He stated: Today it is we, and not Aliyev who is the real force. This president is the last "tall story" of the past. According to Javadov, Abulfaz Elchibey lost because he was president only of the people's front, and Geydar Aliyev, Javadov said, was merely a president of his own family and his own clan. In Javadov's opinion, Aliyev himself will resign within a week, KHABAR-SERVIS reports.

### Crisis Can Be Resolved Peacefully

*LD1603183195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1727 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, Mar 16 (Interfax)—The Azerbaijani authorities said they believed that the crisis in the republic provoked by actions of the OPON special police units could still be settled peacefully.

The special police units in Azerbaijan have been refusing to carry out the decision of the authorities on dismissing the OPON for the second day, a high-ranking official in the Azerbaijani president's apparatus told Interfax today.

The same source said the situation could be settled without armed clashes if the OPON led by Colonel Rovshan Javadov voluntarily hand in weapons and surrender to the authorities. If such an action were carried out by Javadov, dismissed as the deputy interior minister on March 15, and his brother Makhir Javadov, who took part in the recent events, it would speak in their favor when their guilt will be decided on.

The same source said that a meeting involving the Azerbaijani parliament's chairman, state advisors, the prosecutor general and the interior and national security ministers had been held in Baku today. The meeting was chaired by Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev.

The same source said that the Azerbaijani authorities considered the action of the OPON as "an attempted coup and an attempt to unleash a civil war in the republic."

The same source said there had not yet been made an official decision on arresting the Javadov brothers. The same source said that, however, such a decision was likely to be made in the near future.

An Interfax correspondent reports that the situation remained calm in Baku today. Public transport, businesses and organizations are functioning as usual.

However, the Baku district where the OPON is based is still surrounded by government troops. The house where Makhir Javadov lived is also blockaded.

Makhir Javadov told Interfax that he believed government troops could try to seize his house and the OPON base this evening or tonight.

## Rallies for Aliyev Reported

*NC1603214995 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] [Words indistinct] from our republic's regions in connection with the latest actions of the Special Purpose Police Detachment [OPON]. [Words indistinct] Such actions are causing particular concern among the people in Kazakh and Akstafa regions. Despite the disbandment of the OPON by a decision of the Interior Ministry, some groups are refusing to surrender their arms. In the meantime, Rovshan Javadov has been relieved from his post of deputy interior minister.

According to reports, meetings are being held in Masalli, [place names indistinct], and in other places. The society on the whole is expressing its views regarding the Azerbaijan President's address on the television and radio and declaring its support for the president.

Rallies and meetings are also being held today in Ganja, Akstafa, [place name indistinct] and in other cities and rayons. The people are resolutely condemning the attacks against our statehood. They are demanding firm punishment of those who want to drag Azerbaijan into a civil war. Cables are being sent to Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev.

The developments in our republic is also causing concern among the Azerbaijanis abroad. Azerbaijani friendship society in (?Oslo) issued a statement at its 15 March meeting: Dear compatriots, the world radio stations have been broadcasting dramatic news on Azerbaijan in recent days. A civil conflict is being unleashed in Azerbaijan for the third time. The latest conflict between OPON and government forces has caused concern among us, the Azerbaijanis living abroad. [Words indistinct] Who stands to gain from such a conflict in our republic at a time when there is an urgency to direct all our strength and forces for the liberation of our lands? [Words indistinct] Brothers, come to your senses, it is not too late for you to lay down your arms. May be there are other forces who have interest in pitting brother against brother. Azerbaijan has lost much in recent year. Our lands have been drenched in blood. Even the murder of one person by a fraternal bullet in Azerbaijan might lead to a great tragedy. Any shot fired is a shot fired at a brother. This will be a grave tragedy. We believe that the present conflict too should be solved through talks. (?Many) conflicts arose in Azerbaijan in recent years, but each time they were prevented from developing into tragedies thanks to the cool-headedness of the Azerbaijani people and of the leaders of the various parties and movements. We would like to hope that this is what will happen this time around too. We call for prudence and a renouncement of the conflict.

## Aliyev Orders OPON To Surrender

*LD1603205295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1906 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, Mar 16 (Interfax)—Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev issued a decree this evening ordering rebellious members of the OPON [Special Purpose Police Detachment] special police units to hand in their weapons voluntarily and surrender to the authorities.

If special police officers surrender voluntarily they will enjoy mercy. "The law, as tough as it is, will be applied to those OPON officers who will not hand in weapons and surrender," Aliyev said in the decree.

An Interfax correspondent on the scene reports that contradictory rumors are being spread in Baku about the fate of the brother of the rebellious OPON commander Rovshan Javadov, Mahir Javadov.

According to some sources, Mahir Javadov was arrested. However, according to the most recent information received by an Interfax correspondent, Mahir Javadov was seen on the OPON base in a Baku district.

## Islamic Party Condemns Revolt

*LD1603213795 Tehran IRNA in English 2023 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, March 16, IRNA—The Islamic Party of the Republic of Azerbaijan here Thursday condemned the revolt in Azerbaijan and said to take back their occupied lands the people of Azerbaijan needed to unite. Ex-deputy minister of the interior of Azerbaijan Rushan Javadov and leader of the revolting groups have called on President Geydar Aliyev and speaker of the national assembly of that republic to resign.

In a communique which the party issued here Thursday it accused internal and external enemies of Azerbaijan of having plotted against the independence of that republic. The Islamic Party has called for peaceful solution of internal diffferences by negotiation and without confrontation.

### Heads of Parties Cited on Current Crisis

*MK1703103095 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Mar 95 p 1*

[Report by Aydyn Mekhtiyev under the "Crisis" rubric: "Azerbaijan on Brink of Civil War. Rebels Are Given Three Days to Lay Down Arms"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The standoff between the republic's leadership and Rovshan Javadov-led rebels has reached a climax, and military actions may start any moment now, watchers of the situation shaping up in Baku conclude. [passage omitted]

A source in Azerbaijan's Ministry of Internal Affairs has told your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent that the rebels have been given three days to surrender their weapons.

"The Socialist Democratic Party of Azerbaijan [SDPA] will not be making statements regarding the events unfolding in connection with the edict of Internal Affairs Minister Ramil Usubov on the disbandment and disarmament of OPON [special police detachment] and, following in its wake, the demand by Rovshan Javadov, the deputy minister and commander of the republic's OPON, that the country's president and the parliament speaker should go," a KHABAR- SERVICE news agency correspondent was told by SDPA Central Committee bureau member Zardusht Alizade. "The SDPA's stance is that, in every instance, we urge the warring sides for national reconciliation, we explain to everybody that Azerbaijan has one external enemy—the Armenian aggressor—and that it is improper for Azerbaijanis to divide power and fight each other."

"The Democratic Party does not intend to take sides in the conflict because underlying it are not political but clan reasons," said Sardar Dzhalaloglu, Democratic Party of Azerbaijan chairman, in an interview for a KHABAR-SERVICE news agency correspondent. "These events, like the event of the last October, prove the absence of real authority in the country, but I do not think this will take the form of some serious political conflict."

"I think the situation is quite serious, and the official version about the reasons causing the standoff being political is false," Ali Kerimov, People's Front of Azerbaijan deputy chairman for political questions, told the correspondent of the same news agency. "The latest developments are a logical continuation of October 1994 because the situation at that time was resolved only superficially, while all the internal differences remained."

In A. Kerimov's view, the problem still lends itself to a political settlement despite the fact that tensions have reached a climax. The NFA will indeed use all its efforts and authority so that bloodshed can be avoided.

### Minister Says 95 Arrested

*LD1703042495 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The deadline for the voluntary surrender of weapons by members of Azerbaijan's rebellious OPON [special purpose police unit] passes today [as heard]. Ramil Usubov, Azerbaijan's Minister of Internal Affairs, said this at a press conference in Baku on Thursday [16 March].

It was confirmed at the press conference that there had been an exchange of fire in the area of an OPON base on Wednesday night.

According to Usubov, 95 people have been arrested in Azerbaijan since the beginning of the week in connection with the OPON mutiny. The majority of them are OPON members.

The minister noted that the demand of OPON commander Rovshan Javadov for the resignation of the president and the speaker of the republican parliament were absurd and could not be met or even taken into consideration.

### Javadov on Impending 'Government' Attack

*NC1703080995 Baku TURAN in English 0640 GMT 17 Mar 95*

["The Attack of the OPON's Head-quarter by the Governmental Troops Is Expected Today. Rovshan Javadov Appeals Foreign Ambassadors To Be Mediators in the Conflict"—TURAN headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 16) TURAN—"Today at night the authorities are going to attack the head-quarter of OPON," TURAN was told by Rovshan Javadov on March 16 at 16 p.m. [1200 GMT] According to him, for this purpose the divisions of the national army from different regions and foreign hirelings are delivered in Baku.

"We do not want a bloodshed and I appeal the ambassadors of the U.S., Great Britain, France, Turkey, Iran and other countries to be the mediators and to prevent bloodshed. I appeal also the political parties and organisations with the same appeal," said Rovshan Javadov.

Javadov also said that today his brother Mahir Javadov was arrested but this information is refuted by other sources. Today the Head of OPON's head-quarter sub-colonel Nisami Mamedov deserted to the authorities with 15 employees of his sub-division.

At 15.20 additional military hard units and the governmental troops came up the house of Mahir Javadov.

Judging by all the authorities are going to take decisive measures against the OPON. All roads to the district 8-th kilometre are blocked, there are a lot of governmental troops round the OPON's head-quarter. According to unofficial information, four additional subdivisions of special troops were transferred in Baku from Nakhichevan. The affair is coming to a head.

### Javadov Actions Called Attempted 'Coup'

*NC1703081995 Baku TURAN in English 0640 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 16) TURAN—The demand of group of OPON members headed by Police Colonel Rovshan Javadov on the resignation of the authorities and their will to form a new government by force and even by mean of the armed clash has a character of an attempt of coup d'etat, reads a statement of the Azerbaijan's Party of National Independence (APNI). The statement reads that despite the fact that the attempt of coup d'etat became possible due to wrong policy of the present government, it is aimed first of all against Azerbaijan. That is why the political forces - opposing the independence of the state and supported from the outside can use it. The statement notes that all problems should be settled within the frames of Constitution.

### Azeri Rebel Leader Rovshan Javadov Killed

*LD1703075895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0744 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 17 March—Former Azerbaijani deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, Rovshan Javadov, who until the very last minute led the operations of the rebel OPON [special purpose police unit], was killed today in an exchange of fire with government forces.

### Some Reports of Rebel Surrender

*LD1703083695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0800 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 17 Mar—Rovshan Javadov, former Azerbaijani deputy interior minister who had been the leader of the rebel special purpose police unit [OPON] until the very last, died today in a shootout with government forces. This was announced over the telephone to ITAR-TASS by Magerram Aliyev, military commandant and head of the Baku main police directorate.

Aliyev said the details of the death of the former deputy minister were being verified. According to unconfirmed reports, heavily wounded Rovshan Javadov died on the way to hospital. Some reports say that rebels surrendered around 0930 hours Moscow time, but eyewitnesses say that shots could still be heard around the OPON base.

It seems that during the attack on the base about 40 people from the two sides were wounded and eight killed.

### OPON Base Taken

*LD1703093695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0906 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayev and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Baku, 17 Mar—Azerbaijan's former Deputy Interior Minister Rovshan Javadov, who until recently was leading the operations of the rebel Special Purpose Police Unit (OPON), died today during a skirmish with government forces. [passage omitted]

The base where the OPON rebels were concentrated has been taken, although some firing can still be heard around it. The fate of the second rebel leader, Makhir Javadov, is still not known. [passage omitted]

The situation in Baku is under the authorities' control. Geydar Aliyev held an emergency meeting this morning, devoted to the latest events. [passage omitted]

### Aliyev Confirms Rebellion Crushed

*LD1703103995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1022 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] [No dateline as received]—Azeri President Geydar Aliyev officially confirmed that the leader of the rebels, Rovshan Javadov, had died and that the rebellion had been crushed.

### Aliyev Addresses Republican Conference

*LD1703123195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1130 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayev and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 17 Mar—The attempted coup d'etat undertaken overnight in Azerbaijan has failed thanks to the decisive actions of the government forces. This was stated today by Azerbaijan's President Geydar Aliyev at a republican conference.

The head of state said that state bodies had repeatedly received reports about the mutiny being prepared. Ambassadors of foreign states in Azerbaijan had also warned him of this. The man who engineered the coup was named—the republic's Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Rovshan Javadov. The president stated, "This person who assembled around him considerable armed subunits, became a tool in the hands of various political forces." Geydar Aliyev said that Rovshan Javadov, himself, in his numerous interviews to the mass media had not concealed his plans to seize power.

The president said the coup plan had been carefully worked out and four operational groups had been set up. One of these was given the task of seizing the presidential palace and physically eliminating the head of state. The second group was to seize the parliament building; the third group was to seize the national television; and the fourth was to seize the republic's Interior Ministry.

The president stressed that the measures undertaken by the authorities to settle the conflict by peaceful means had not produced any results. At about 0200 last night [2200 GMT] the forces concentrated at the mutinous OPON [special purpose police unit] base attacked the government troops which had sealed off the base. Four servicemen of the national army were killed. Fierce fighting broke out and lasted until almost noon on 17 March. The mutineers used large-caliber weapons, guided missiles, and grenade launchers.

Thanks to the decisive actions of the army units the mutiny was suppressed. Rovshan Javadov was wounded in the battle towards morning and he died later in the Interior Ministry hospital. His brother Makhir Javadov, who was one of the leaders of the mutiny, escaped. His whereabouts are as yet unknown.

As the president put it: Rovshan Javadov "fell victim to his own dirty deeds." Geydar Aliyev described the present attempted coup as a direct continuation of the events of 3-4 October last year when a similar attempt was made to overthrow the authorities in the republic.

Geydar Aliyev stated that "behind all these tragic events are ex-president Ayaz Mutallibov, former Prime Minister Surat Guseynov, and former Defense Minister Rahim Gaziyev, who have now taken refuge in Moscow." The president stressed that at the same time these events "have demonstrated the strength of the state of Azerbaijan and its ability to curtail any attempts aimed against the security of the country."

## Georgia

### Protest of Abkhaz Presence at CIS Meeting

*LD1603163295 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mikhail Ukleba, the first deputy Georgian foreign minister, held a news conference yesterday. He spoke about the visit of a Georgian Government delegation to Moscow. A number of economic agreements were signed during the visit. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Ukleba said that during its visit to Moscow, the Georgian delegation submitted a note to the Russian Foreign Ministry protesting against the activities of an Abkhazian working team within the Russian Ministry of Cooperation with CIS Member States. The Russian side viewed the discontent of the Georgian side with understanding, Mr. Ukleba said.

### Ardzinba Ready To Negotiate, Accept Georgian Refugees

*LD1603154595 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Abkhaz separatist leader Vladislav Ardzinba said that he was ready to hold negotiations with Georgia's leaders. His statement published in Sukhumi says that Abkhazia consents to the return of Georgian refugees to the region.

### Ethnic Georgians Forced To Flee Gali District

*LD1603191795 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1430 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Zugdidi, 16 Mar—Punitive operations against ethnic Georgians carried out by Abkhaz separatists in the Gali District in recent days forcde the ethnic Georgian population of the district to seek refuge in the Zugdidi and Tsalenjikha Districts. According to unconfirmed reports, over 1,000 people left the Gali District on 14 and 15 March.

### Abkhazia To Remove Paramilitary Units From Gali

*LD1603193995 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Zugdidi —A quadripartite meeting was held in Zugdidi today to consider the latest tragic events in the Gali District. Representatives of the Georgian and Abkhazian sides, the Russian peacekeeping forces and the UN mission participated in the meeting.

The meeting heard a report that Abkhaz militants deployed in the Gali District on 10-13 March under the guise of militia units had been partly withdrawn from the area and those guilty of tragic incidents in the Gali District had been taken into custody.

### Moscow Freezes Abkhazian Central Bank Account

*LD1603194095 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1630 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow [no dateline as received]—Reliable sources are stating that the account of the Abkhaz representative's office at the Central Bank of the Russian Federation has been frozen on the basis of a protest note from the Georgian embassy in Russia. The Abkhaz representative himself has been instructed to curtail his activities in Moscow. In addition, there are reports that Russian border guards have not permitted an Abkhaz commercial ship to sail from Sukhumi to Trabzon, Turkey, under the Russian flag.

### UN Rep Condemns Abkhazia for Actions in Gali

*LD1703103095 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] A quadripartite meeting has been held in Zugdidi. The meeting discussed the Gali tragedy. It was noted at the meeting that the so-called Abkhaz police, deployed in Gali Rayon on 10-13 March, had already been withdrawn and that the situation was relatively calm. The Abkhaz side has released over 190 inhabitants of Gali, taken hostage earlier. The Abkhaz side is currently keeping some 13 people. Cololnel Shevchuk confirmed the killing of nine innocent inhabitants of Gali. A UN representative condemned and slammed the actions committed by the Abkhaz side and said he would make a detailed report for the UN mission.

### BBC Crew Detained for Alleged Spying on Russian Army

*LD1703115995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1117 GMT 17 Mar 95*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 17 Mar—A television crew of the British Broadcasting Corporation [BBC] was detained when it tried to gather intelligence material in Georgia. It happened in Vazian, not far from Tbilisi, where the 405th Motorized Regiment of the Russian troops is stationed in the Trans-Caucasus. The press center of the Russian troops said today that a television crew of five people headed by (Charles Colville) was filming Russian military sites without prior permission by the command.

The investigation of the incident, which could have damaged the security of Russian military sites, took 24 hours, after which the BBC television crew, which committed a flagrant breach of journalistic ethics, was allowed to leave. Obviously, the video material filmed on the territory of the Russian military base was demagnetized.

## Estonia

### President, Russian Border Chief Hold Talks

*LD1603175095 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 15 Mar 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri received Colonel-General Andrey Nikolayev, head of the Russian Federal Border Service, on 15 March. Meri said that Estonia proceeds from the Tartu Peace treaty in matters pertaining to Estonian-Russian border issues. Recognition of the inviolability of borders, however, would serve as a foundation to Estonian and Russian good-neighborly relations. Nikolayev voiced the hope that an agreement on borders between Estonia and Russia would be achieved soon.

### More on President's Meeting

*WS1703100095 Tallinn BNS in English 1350 GMT 16 Mar 95*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Mar 16, BNS—Estonia would proceed from the peace treaty of Tartu while addressing the issue of its border with Russia, President Lennart Meri said at a meeting with top Russian border officials on Wednesday [15 March].

He said the treaty of 1920 was the first international agreement signed between the countries and was thus also important for Russia.

The head of the Russian border guard forces, Col. Gen. Andrey Nikolayev, and the commander of Russia's border guard Northwest district, Col. Gen. Vladimir Vyunov, met the Estonian president during their visit to Tallinn.

Meri at the meeting said that mutual recognition of the integrity of each other's borders had to be the basis of good-neighborly relations between Estonia and Russia. But practical issues related to the same topic are of secondary importance and may be subject to discussion, he added.

The Estonian president also expressed gladness over "signs indicating Russia's readiness to seek a solution for the border issue," Meri's press office said.

Nikolayev pointed out what he called fruitful professional cooperation between the border guards of Estonia and Russia and said he was glad to add that no political or military issues were hampering that cooperation.

The Russian border guard chief also expressed hope that the two countries would sign a border agreement in the near future.

The issue of state border between Estonia and Russia has remained a main stumbling block on the way toward good relations between the countries since Estonia regained its independence from Moscow in 1991. Estonia has fixed in its constitution that the border between the two countries runs along the line determined under the Tartu peace treaty.

Russia since then has unilaterally marked the border along the borderline effective since the 1950s, when some 2,000 sq. kilometers of former Estonian territory had been given to Russia.

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